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MATERIALS FOR CHURCH HISTORY

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WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL—NORTH-WEST VIEW

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MATERIALS FOR

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

MORE ESPECIALLY IN THE

DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER

(1625-1649),

BY

REV. G. N. GODWIN, B.D.,

VICAR OF POPHAM cum WOODMANCOTE, HANTS.

Winchester:

TAPLIN AND TANNER, JEWRY PRESS,

1895.

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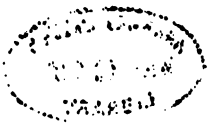

MATERIALS FOR CHURCH HISTORY

(1624-1649)

MORE ESPECIALLY IN THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

ANY attempt to deal with this great subject in detail would fill several volumes. We can therefore only indicate the sources and authorities from which materials, valuable alike to the student and to the general reader, may be drawn. "Religious controversy," says Lucy Aitkin,[1] "was the mania of the age. A bare list of the writers on divinity in the reign of James, with the titles of their works prefixed would make of itself a volume. Never was the warfare so keen between popery and protestantism, or the feud so active between the Calvinistic and Arminian parties within the Church itself." Guizot says[2] "The Anglican clergy in 1625 believed that the day had come when absolute monarchy would be compelled to acknowledge their independence to make sure of their aid. They had again got

1 Memoirs of the Court of Charles I., vol. 1, p. 41.
2 English Revolution, p. 50.

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immense wealth, and enjoyed it without dispute. The papists no longer inspired them with alarm. The primate of the church, Laud, possessed the entire confidence of the sovereign, and alone directed all ecclesiastical affairs. Amongst the other ministers none professed like Lord Burleigh under Elizabeth, to fear and struggle against the encroachments of the clergy. The courtiers were indifferent, or secret papists. Learned men threw lustre over the Church." Church and king stood side by side, but the people were eager to complete reforms alike in church or state. It is ominous that Fuller thus begins his Eleventh Book of his Church History of Britain—"The sad news of King James' death was soon brought to Whitehall, Sunday, March 27, 1625, at that very instant when Dr. Laud, Bishop of St. David's, was preaching therein. This caused him to break off his sermon in the midst thereof, out of civil compliance with the sadness of the congregation, and the same day was King Charles proclaimed at Whitehall." Jeremy Collier[1] says of King James that "though he quitted so much in this world, he went pleased into the other." Lingard on the other hand[2] styles him "a weak and prodigal king, and a vain and loquacious pedant." His funeral sermon was preached by Williams, Lord Keeper, and Bishop of Lincoln, who took as his text 2 Chronicles ix, 29, 30, comparing the deceased monarch to Solomon, to the displeasure of his hearers, causing Fuller to remark "thus it is easier and better to please one God than many men with our sermons."[3] Bishop Williams had risen to eminence through the favour of the Duke of Buckingham. "The doctor had crept far for ground ivy, but he must clasp upon this tree, or none to climb."[4] Such was his church preferment which he was constantly seeking to augment by cringing, begging letters, that Heylin describes him as being

1 Ecclesiastical History, vol. 7, p. 455.
2 History of England, vol. 7, p. 141.
3 Church History, Book XI.
4 Life of Williams, I., 45.

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"a perfect diocese in himself, being bishop, dean, residentiary, and parson, and all these at once."[1] But Williams was out of favour at court, and in spite of the most abject entreaties addressed to Buckingham he was not allowed to assist at the coronation. He writes[2] "I never was brought into the presence of a king by any *saint* except yourself. Turn me not over, most noble lord, to offer my prayers at any other altar, etc." Charles I., according to Macaulay,[3] was "like his father, a zealous episcopalian. He was, moreover, what his father had never been—a zealous Arminian, and, though no papist, liked a papist much better than a puritan."

At the coronation the place of Williams was supplied by Laud, [4]"a man of the Bancroft school, and therefore a most bitter hater of the Puritans." Dr. Collier says[5] "This sharp-featured man, with rat-like eye and villainous brow, had even as an Oxford student been noted for his popish leanings." Mr. Green writes[6] "Bishop Laud was recognized as the centre of that varied opposition to puritanism whose members were loosely grouped under the name of Arminians." Clarendon states that [7]"he was a man of great parts and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities." Heylin confesses that it was thought dangerous to keep him company. Neale, who loved him not, describes him as being [8]"vastly fond of external pomp and ceremony in divine worship; and though he was not an absolute papist, he was ambitious of being the sovereign patriarch of three kingdoms." But why quote further, seeing that whenever the name of William Laud

1 Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 86.
2 Harl. MSS. 7000, No. 102.
3 History of England, vol. 1, p. 83.
4 Collier's History of the British Empire, p. 125.
5 Ibid.
6 Short History, p. 396.
7 History of the Rebellion, vol. 1, pp. 97-8.
8 History of the Puritans, vol. 2, p. 156.

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is mentioned it is a case of "*quot homines, tot sententiae?*" At the coronation Laud gave grievous offence by placing upon the altar an ancient crucifix which formed part of the regalia of Westminster Abbey, though Archbishop Abbott who was one of the puritan school, did not object to its presence, Abbott himself wearing a gorgeous cope.[1] Laud also offended many of the spectators by reviving the use of an old prayer, "not in fashion since the reign of King Henry VI.," "let him obtain favour for this people, like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the temple, give him Peter's key of discipline, Paul's doctrine." This I call a protestant passage, though anciently used in popish times, as fixing more spiritual power in the king than the pope will willingly allow, jealous that any should finger Peter's keys save himself.[2]

Superstition was rife in the days of the first Charles, and omens of evil were not wanting on the day of the coronation. During the summer of 1621, Archbishop Abbott, the officiating prelate, had taken part in a deer drive in Bramshill Park, immortalised by the ever to be lamented Charles Kingsley,[3] and had the misfortune to kill Peter Hawkins, a keeper, with a chance arrow. The traditional scene of this accident is still pointed out.[4] An enquiry was held, and mainly by the influence of Bishop Andrewes of Winchester, Abbott was acquitted from blame. Clarendon speaks of Abbott as "a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect, which in that time was called gravity."[5] He had formerly been chaplain to the Earl of Dunbar, and contrary to all expectation he had been promoted to the See of Canterbury, which had been regarded as a certainty for Bishop Andrewes. A satirist of the day thus describes the appointment,

1 Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. 5, p. 297.
2 Fuller's Church History, Book XI.
3 Kingsley's Miscellanies.
4 Lives of the Archbishops, vol. 5, p. 279.
5 History of the Rebellion, vol. 1, p. 88.

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[1] "Abbott," he says, "had been blown over by a strong north wind across the Thames to Lambeth." Another says "Dunbar carried Lambeth by a *coup de main*." Despite the verdict of the commission of enquiry there were many who believed that Abbott was morally incapacitated from officiating. The queen and her ladies were seen dancing as the procession proceeded to the abbey,[2] and the visitation of the plague had plunged London into mourning.[3] The king was robed in white, his favourite colour, and when, a quarter of a century later, the snowflakes fell white upon his pall at Windsor,[4] there were not wanting those who recalled the omens of the White King's coronation. On the other side the parliament employed William Lilly, the famous astrologer, who was a native of Odiham, Hants, to predict the success or failure of Sir William Waller at Cheriton Fight,[5] and also to foretell the fortunate day and hour for the storming of Basing House.[6] The latter of these predictions was very wide of the mark.

King Charles, on first meeting his parliament, had declared that as to his religion "I desire that you would repose in this assurance that I will not vary from those principles wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel, my late father."[7] But his marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France, the leanings of Buckingham towards the Church of Rome, of which both his wife and mother were members, the suspension of penal laws against papists, slights put upon the reformed churches, and the royal dislike to the puritan party made men uneasy and suspicious. In spite of the queen's eating pheasant on S. John Baptist's eve, her train of followers, which

1 Lambeth Palace and its Associations, p. 139.
2 Lives of the Archbishops, vol. 5, p. 296.
3 Ibid.
4 Fuller's Church History, vol. 6, p. 433.
5 History of Alresford.
6 History of Basingstoke.
7 Baker's Chronicle, p 432.

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included no less than twenty-nine priests, together with a youthful bishop, gave great offence to English minds, especially when with all solemnity she was conducted to Somerset House, in London, where a chapel was new prepared for her devotion, with a convent adjoining of Capuchin Friars, according to the articles of her marriage.[1] But Jeremy Collier says [2] that the chapel was built not for her but for the Spanish Infanta to whom Charles had been formerly contracted, and that the Capuchins did not arrive until the Oratorians who first came over had been sent back to France in the year 1626, and until after the loss of Rochelle. Neal [3] quotes Bishop Kennet "The king's match with this lady was a greater judgment to the nation than the plague which then raged in the land; it was then easy to foresee it might prove very fatal to our English prince and people, and lay in a vengeance to future generations." It was rumoured that there were hopes of the queen's conversion.[4] Perhaps she had herself unwittingly given rise to the report. Some one had impertinently asked her if she could abide a Huguenot? "Why not," she quickly replied, "was not my father one?" The king did not pay much attention to her priestly attendants, and when she heard mass he directed that no Englishman should be present.[5] In 1626[6] "the French priests and domestics of that nation which came into England with the queen were grown so insolent and put so many affronts upon the king that he was forced to send them home." This was partly due to a stormy scene at Titchfield House, when the king was hunting at Beaulieu in the New Forest. When her French retinue departed Charles was obliged to "drag her back into the room with her hands

1 Aitkin, vol. I., p. 77. Fuller's Church History, Book XI. Cassell's History of England, vol. III., p. 113
2 Ecclesiastical History, Book IX.
3 History of the Puritans, vol. II., p. 155.
4 Gardiner's History of England, vol. V., p. 334.
5 Gardiner's History of England, 1624-8.
6 Baker's Chronicle.

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bleeding from the energy with which she clung to the bars."[1] This is not an agreeable picture to contemplate. But it might have been well for Charles I., and for England too, if he had always asserted his authority with equal firmness over this passionate and impulsive French girl.

The Rev. Richard Montagu, a former Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Rector of Stamford Rivers,[2] had been engaged in a controversy with certain Jesuits, who sent him a pamphlet with the quaint title "A Gag for the New Gospel." To this Montagu replied by a kindred brochure, called "A New Gag for an Old Goose," in which he maintained Roman Catholic doctrines to be the doctrines of the Church of England. He freely admitted that the Church of Rome was a true church, although corrupt, and claimed for the Church of England a position equally Catholic, but less superstitious. This work displeased Archbishop Abbott, who censured Montagu for its publication. The latter replied by writing a famous treatise entitled "Appello Cæsarem," which was of a decidedly Arminian character. The House of Commons grew angry, and says Whitelocke,[3] "Montagu was brought to the bar of the House of Commons for his book. The Arminian party take in with him. The House voted his book contrary to the articles of religion, tending to the dishonour of the king, and disturbance of the church and state." The king owned Montagu as his chaplain, and "hoped that one of his chaplains might have as much protection as the servant of an ordinary burgess." "Montagu's book was on February 6th, 1626, ordered to be suppressed and burnt, but he himself was henceforth left in peace, and was in 1629 created Bishop of Chichester, not without opposition in Bow Church, from Mr. Jones, a stationer of London." "Defend

1 Gardiner's History of England, 1624-8.

2 Wakeman's Church and the Puritans, p. 113. Perry's Church History, pp. 400-5.

3 Memorials, vol. I., p. 3.

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me with the sword, and I will defend thee with the pen," were the last words of Montagu's appeal to Cæsar. Robert Sibthorpe, in a sermon addressed to the judges at Northampton, inculcated the duty of passive obedience to the commands of the king, even when contrary to the laws of God.[1] Robert Mainwaring, preaching before the king, enforced the duty of obedience as the ordinance of God, and distinctly limited the function of Parliament to that of merely assisting the king in carrying on the government of the nation. Says Mr. Green [2] "Sober men looked forward to a day when every pulpit would be ringing with exhortations to passive obedience, with denunciations of Calvinism, and apologies for Rome." "Such fear did the rigour of Laud inspire that the deadly hatred of the church which festered in innumerable bosoms, was generally disguised under an outward shew of conformity. On the very eve of troubles, fatal to himself and to his order, the bishops of several extensive dioceses were able to report to him that "not a single dissenter was to be found within their jurisdiction."[3] He followed the example of Abbott, his predecessor at Lambeth, who once more lighted the fires at Smithfield, and burnt the two Anabaptists, Leggatt and Whitman, "treating indeed his whole flock as so many rebels, and using only the goad."[4]

In 1625 [5] "A parliament began in London wherein the first statute agreed upon was for the more strict observation of the Lord's day, which day as it first honoured the king, his reign beginning thereon, so the king first honoured it by passing an act for the greater solemnity thereof." It was called an act "for punishing divers abuses committed on the Lord's day, called Sunday," and was specially directed against the Sunday sports

1 Wakeman's Church and the Puritans, p. 116.
2 Short History, p. 504.
3 Macaulay, vol. I., p. 88.
4 Lambeth Palace, p. 140.
5 Fuller's Church History, Book XI.

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allowed by King James.[1] Those who frequented such assemblies were to pay a fine of three shillings and sixpence on each occasion, or to be set in the stocks. But this law was never carried out. In February, 1626, two fruitless conferences were held at York House between the Calvinistic and Arminian divines, to which conference Fuller[2] says that some applied the words of David, "There is none that doeth good, no not one." Neale thus sums up the matter[3] "The success of the dispute is variously related, but the Earl of Pembroke said that none went from thence Arminians, save those who came thither with the same opinions."

Baker's Chronicle says that the principal topic debated at these conferences was the possibility of elected persons falling from grace. . . . . "The king, taking notice of these Arminian controversies, by his declaration a while after published, forbade any in preaching or writing to meddle with those high points, as tending more to destruction than to edification of the people."

In October, 1626, the cause of true religion, piety and learning sustained no slight loss by the death of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, one of the most eminent divines of the 17th century.. Canon Benham[4] says "The traditionary reputation of Andrewes as a preacher is second to none in the Church of England." He spoke fifteen languages, and spent five hours daily in devotion. "There were few of his sermons which were not thrice between the hammer and the anvil before they were preached." A panegyrist styles him "Doctor Andrewes in the school, Bishop Andrewes in the diocese, and Saint Andrewes in the closet." To his consecration of Pear Tree Green Church and churchyard we owe the basis of our consecration service of churches and churchyards. He was buried in St. Saviour's

1 Annals of England, vol. II., p. 376.
2 Church History, Book XI.
3 Church History, vol. II., p. 170. p. 567.
4 Diocesan History of Winchester, pp. 186-8.

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Church, Southwark.

His successor was Bishop Richard Neile, of whom Winwood [1] says, "a man of no great note, more than he is the Earl of Salisbury's chaplain." He was coupled with Laud in the remonstrance against the Arminians presented to the king in June, 1628, as a troubler of the English Israel,[2] and as "being inclined to Arminianism, and favouring popish doctrines and ceremonies."[3] His appointment to the See of Winchester, from whence he was translated to York three years later, was looked upon by the House of Commons as being almost a declaration of war on the part of the king.[4] The remonstrance complained that "Arminianism and popish errors being the way to church preferment, many scholars bend the course of their studies to maintain them."[5] It denounced the Arminians as being no better than papists, "and [6] not wanting friends even of the clergy near to your Majesty, namely, Dr. Neile, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly suspected to be unsound in their opinions that way." Further complaint is made that "means have been sought out to repress and discountenance pious and painful and orthodox preachers, and how conformable soever, and peaceable in their disposition they may be, yet the preferment of such is opposed, and they are hardly permitted to lecture." Laud replied by saying that this charge of Arminianism was a great reflection upon his Majesty. Oliver Cromwell[7] now first made himself heard in the House as a denouncer of Bishop Neile. The word "painful" is here synonymous with "painstaking." There is an epitaph upon a "painful preacher" in Strathfieldsaye Church.

1 Quoted in Cassan's Bishops of Winchester, vol. II., p. 110.
2 Wakeman, p. 117.
3 Benham, p. 192.
4 Wakeman, p. 117.
5 Neal, vol. II., p. 181.
6 Rushworth, vol. I., pp. 621-2.
7 Carlyle—Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, vol. I., p. 55.

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In September, 1626,[1] Bishop Laud, lately translated to the See of Bath and Wells, drew up a long paper of instructions to the clergy, urging them both to preach and to teach passive obedience in the strongest possible terms. This was done in accordance with Queen Elizabeth's policy known as "tuning the pulpits." These orders were speedily obeyed. In addition to the sermons by Drs. Sibthorpe and Mainwaring above referred to, Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, preached on 1 Samuel xv. 23, imputing rebellion to those who refused to contribute to the forced loan which the king had asked for, and much urged obedience. His sermon was printed by his Majesty's special command.[2] "Archbishop Abbott refused to license Sibthorpe's sermon, for which he was censured and obliged to live in retirement at his country house of Ford,[3] a moorish, unhealthy place, five miles beyond Canterbury."[4]

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was now trying to be reconciled to Buckingham, thereby angering Laud. Sir John Lamb and others complained that Bishop Williams had spoken words against the government, that fasts were kept, and money collected by the puritans for the Palatines, and that the bishop would not proceed against them. "The papists were forward in the loan and the puritans were recusants in it."[5]

The king's third parliament met on March 17th, 1628, and a bill was at once passed for the execution of the laws against Romish priests, to forbid "sending any to be popishly bred beyond the seas," to imprison recusants, to prevent them from holding offices, or from hearing mass at an ambassador's house, and lastly, to compel them to educate their children in the protestant religion. This statute remained a dead letter, and

1 Le Bas' Life of Laud, pp. 97-9.
2 Aitkin's Charles I.
3 Lives of the Archbishops, vol. V., p. 303.
4 Neal, vol. II., p. 175.
5 Whitelocke, Memorials, vol. I., p. 20.

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large sums were annually raised by compositions with recusants.[1] On June 13th, 1628, Dr. Mainwaring, on the instigation of Pym, "who managed the impeachment with vigour and advantage enough,"[2] was brought before the House of Commons to answer for his sermon. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd made a remarkable speech condemning small livings, and Mainwaring made humble submission. He was, however, sentenced by the House of Lords to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, ordered to pay a fine of £1000 to the king, and to make written submission. He was to be silenced for three years, to be disabled from preferment, and was never again to preach at court. The king at once pardoned him, and gave him rich preferment, so that as Heylin says,[3] "the parliamentary thunders did rather affrighten than hurt him." Speaking of this period Carlyle says, "In regard to religion also, matters looked equally ill. Sycophant Mainwaring, just censured in parliament, had been promoted to a fatter living. Sycophant Montagu, in the like circumstances to a Bishopric; Laud was in the act of consecrating him at Croydon, when the news of Buckingham's death came thither. There needed to be a Committee of Religion."[4]

On the other hand "The dress, the deportment, the studies, the amusements of the rigid sect were regulated on principles resembling those of the Pharisees, who, proud of their washed hands, and broad phylacteries, taunted the Redeemer as a sabbath-breaker and a winebibber. It was a sin to hang garlands on a maypole, to drink a friend's health, to fly a hawk, to hunt a stag, to play at chess, to wear lovelocks, to put starch into a ruff, to touch the virginals, to read the Fairy Queen."

"The fine arts were all but proscribed. The solemn peal of the organ was superstitious. The light music of Ben Jonson's

1 Whitelocke, Memorials, vol. I., p. 25, & Annals of England, vol. II., p. 381.
2 Fuller's Church History, Book XI.
3 Le Bas' Life of Laud, pp. 111-13.
4 Letters, &c. of Oliver Cromwell, vol. I., p. 55.

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masques was dissolute. Half the fine paintings in England were idolatrous, and the other half indecent."[1]

During the session of 1628, it was enacted that all carters, waggoners, and drovers who travelled on Sunday should be fined twenty shillings for each offence. Butchers killing cattle or selling meat on Sunday were to forfeit six shillings and eight pence.[2] Archbishop Abbott was now recalled to court and to partial royal favour, and held a convocation for the checking of popery and Arminianism,[3] whilst Laud drew up a declaration which was by royal order prefixed to the 39 Articles. The king ordered religious disputes to cease, said that the Articles were to be interpreted according to their simple and grammatical meaning, and appointed convocation to be the umpire in ecclesiastical controversies. Parliament was soon afterwards dissolved, and, says Carlyle,[4] "It was the last parliament in England for above eleven years. The king had taken his course. . . . . The ceremonial bishops, Bishop or Archbishop Laud now chief of them, they on their side, went on diligently hunting out 'lectures,' erecting 'altars in the east end of churches,' charging all clergymen to have in good repair and order 'four surplices at Allhallowtide.' Vexations, spiritual and fiscal, beyond what we can well fancy now, afflicted the souls of men. The English nation was patient, it endured in silence, with prayer that God in justice and mercy would look upon it. The King of England with his chief priests was going one way; the nation of England by eternal laws was going another; the split became too wide for healing."

Early in the year 1629, Richard Smith,[5] titular Bishop of Chalcedon, ordained Roman Catholic priests and confirmed

1 Macaulay's History of England, vol. I., pp. 80-1.
2 Fuller's Church History, Book XI.
3 Perry's Student's Church History (1509-1717), p. 410.
4 Letters, &c. of Oliver Cromwell, vol. I., p. 57.
5 Baker's Chronicle.

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children in Lancashire, clad in full episcopal vestments. Thereupon Nicholas Smith, a Jesuit, denounced his proceedings as being injurious at that time to the Roman Catholic cause. The king offered £100 for the bishop's arrest, whereupon he fled to France.

On August 4th, 1633, died Archbishop Abbott. He had, before he became a bishop, been Dean of Winchester from 1599 to 1611,[1] during which time he took a prominent part in the proceedings of convocation. "There is no doubt that the primacy of Abbott in some measure prepared the way for many of the troubles which beset his successor.[2] During his long primacy the discipline of the Church of England was relaxed, and with his increasing years his remissness with regard to the Puritans who had crept into the preferments of the church, increased. That temper in the archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a church into order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill-inhabited by many weak and more wilful churchmen."[3]

1 Lives of the Archbishops, vol. I., pp. 248-57.
2 Ibid. pp. 304-6.
3 Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I., p. 36.

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CHAPTER II.

ABBOTT was succeeded in the primacy by Laud, of whose protrait Mr. Cave-Browne writes thus, [1]"One cannot contemplate that face without mingled feelings; respect for that conscientious stedfastness which made him dare and do what he believed to be his duty; regret for that lack of judgment and consideration which made him so uncompromising and unconciliatory in the performance of it; to his own ruin, and to some extent to that of his royal master; and admiration of the heroism with which, at the age of three-score years and ten, still true to his life-long convictions, still unbending before the malice of his enemies, unwavering in his sense of duty, unshaken in his trust in God, the old man closed a career of trial and trouble on the block." Le Bas admits that he acted without discretion, affability and gentleness. Canon Perry[2] says, "Between the dissolution of the parliament of 1629 and the meeting of the next parliament, eleven years later, the Church of England went through a change almost equivalent to a revolution, in its doctrine, discipline, and worship. All this was affected mainly by the agency of one man—William Laud." "Lambeth Chapel[3]

1 Lambeth Palace, p. 141.
2 Student's Church History, p. 412.
3 Green's Stray Studies, p. 121.

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brings out with singular vividness the strange audacity with which the archbishop threw himself across the strongest religious sentiments of his time. Men noted as a fatal omen the accident that marked his first entry into Lambeth, the overladen ferry boat upset in the crossing, and though horses and servants were saved the primate's coach remained at the bottom of the Thames. But no omen brought hesitation to that bold, narrow mind. His first action, he tells us himself, was the restoration of the chapel, and, as Laud managed it, restoration was the simple undoing of all that the reformation had done. In the east window his glazier was scandalized at being forced at the primate's express directions to 'repair and make new the broken crucifix.' The holy table was set altarwise against the wall, and a cloth of arras hung behind it embroidered with the history of the Last Supper. The elaborate woodwork of the screen, the richly embroidered copes of the chaplains, the silver candlesticks, the credence table, the organ and the choir, the genuflexions to the altar, recalled the elaborate ceremonial of the royal chapel."

Guizot speaks severely of Laud.[1] Carlyle has, of course, no mercy on him, nor can Nehemiah Wallington say a good word for "his little Grace of Canterbury." Canon Mozley "Essays, Historical and Theological," and Heylin in "Cyprianus Anglicanus" have given us a much more favourable view of his character. Canon Mozley says[2] "We must confess we are literally unable to discover that exorbitance in Laud's line about church externals that some have affected to find. His Injunctions have a very moderate tone, aim at realities, and keep to the point."

Laud obliged Bishops to reside in their dioceses and to attend to their duties.[3] The number of private chaplains was lessened with advantage. Rules controlling lectures and sermons were

1 Historical Notices of the Reign of Charles I., passim.
2 Essays, p. 171.
3 Wakeman's Church and the Puritans, p. 125.

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laid down. He collected and spent before the year 1640 no less a sum than £100,000 towards the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral. In "Canterbury's Doom," published by Prynne in 1646, there is a very remarkable account of Laud's consecration of the church of St. Catherine Cree, in London, on January 16th, 1631. Such a ritual, if actually carried out, must have alienated all moderate men. A full account quoted from Prynne will be found in "England's Worthies."[1] Le Bas,[2] however, gives reasons for distrusting the accuracy of some of Prynne's statements. An admirable account of Laud and his policy is is given by Canon Perry.[3] Whitelocke says,[4] that when parliament dissolved in 1629 "the people were discontented, libels were cast abroad, especially against Bishop Laud and Weston the Treasurer." The terrible punishments inflicted by the Courts of High Commission and the Star Chamber brought much odium upon the church. Mrs. Hutchinson[5] says, "All the papists in the kingdom were favoured, and, by the king's example, matched into the best families, the puritans were more than ever discountenanced and persecuted: insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country and their dearest relations, to retire into any foreign soil or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences enjoy the free exercise of God's worship; such as could not flee were tormented in the bishop's courts, fined, whipped, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest, so that death was better than life to them, and, notwithstanding their patient sufferance to all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduced to perfect slavery."

Macaulay,[6] who had no love for Laud, says that his "mean

1 Wakeman's Church and the Puritans, p. 122.
2 Life of Laud, pp. 144-7.
3 Student's Church History, chapter XXVI.
4 Memorials, vol. I., p. 35.
5 Life of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 29.
6 Essays: Memorials of Hampden, p. 201.

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forehead, pinched features, and peering eyes suit admirably with his disposition. They mark him out as a lower kind of St. Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition, as we might imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an archangel of darkness." He continues,[1] "The puritans were persecuted with cruelty worthy of the holy office. They were forced to fly from the country. They were imprisoned. They were whipped. Their ears were cut off. Their noses were slit. Their cheeks were branded with red hot iron. But the cruelty of the oppressor could not tire out the fortitude of the victims. The mutilated defenders of liberty again defied the vengeance of the Star Chamber, came back with undiminished resolution to the place of their glorious infamy, and manfully presented the stumps of their ears to be grubbed out by the hangman's knife. The hardy sect grew up and flourished in spite of everything that seemed likely to stunt it, struck its roots deep into a barren soil, and spread its branches wide to an inclement sky. The multitude thronged round Prynne in the pillory with more respect than they paid to Mainwaring in the pulpit, and treasured up the rags which the blood of Burton had soaked, with a veneration which mitres and surplices had ceased to inspire."

Dr. Leighton,[2] the father of Archbishop Leighton, had on May 14th, 1629, presented to parliament a book called "Zion's Plea against the Prelates," in which he urged all men to kill the bishops, by "smiting them under the fifth rib." He bitterly denounced the queen as "a daughter of Heth, a Canaanite, and an idolatress." For this publication the Court of Star Chamber sentenced him to be whipped and branded, to have his ears cropped, and his nose slit. He was in all imprisoned for nearly eleven years. He was furthermore fined £10,000 and was branded in the face with the letters S.S. (for Sower of Sedition).

1 Essays: Memorials of Hampden, p. 201.

2 Fuller's Church History, Book XI. Annals of England, vol. II., p. 385.

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Heylin[1] speaks of him as "a Scot by birth, a doctor of physic by profession, and a fiery puritan in faction." The Long Parliament released him, and, as a personal triumph over his humble persecutor, made him the first custodian of Lambeth Palace, which had been converted into a prison for captured Cavaliers. He died almost or quite insane in the year 1644.

Le Bas tries to clear Laud from this enormity.[2]

The "Collectors of St. Antholin's" were a body of twelve trustees who collected money for the purpose of buying up impropriations and advowsons, and of founding lectureships. To these lectureships and to the livings thus secured they presented puritans. Laud, in his diary,[3] of which Macaulay says, "We turn to his diary and we are at once as cool as contempt can make us," calls them [4] "the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church." Good Thomas Fuller says on the other hand, "my pen may safely salute them with a God-speed." The "Collectors" were charged with misappropriating the funds assigned for the establishment of a morning lectureship at St. Antholin's, London, and with favouring puritans. They in vain offered to place themselves under Laud's directions. Their livings were confiscated by the crown, "and both discreet and devout men were doleful at the ruin of so pious a project."[5]

Mr. Sherfield, a barrister, and Recorder of Salisbury, broke a stained glass window in St. Edmund's Church in that city with his stick, pleading in defence that it was derogatory to the character of the Almighty, and unfaithful to scripture. The subject of the window was the Creation. Mr. Sherfield was hereupon deprived of his office, fined £500, imprisoned, and forced to apologise both in Salisbury Cathedral and in St. Edmund's

1 Life of Laud.
2 Life of Laud, p. 142.
3 Essays: Memorials of Hampden, p. 201.
4 Ibid, p. 47.
5 Fuller's Church History, Book XI. Le Bas' Life of Laud, pp. 148-153.

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Church, and to give securities for his future good behaviour.[1] During Lent, 1630, Dr. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, preached before the king and his court on Romans vi. 23, and, says Baker, [2]"was questioned for breach of the king's declaration by falling on some points in his sermon before the king touching the Arminian controversy which were forbidden therein, but by his modest and discreet answers he was acquitted, though in the same year Thorn and Ford, two Masters of Arts of Oxford, were expelled the University for being judged offenders against the same declaration." Bishop Davenant died of consumption in the year 1541, and, says Fuller, "Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ, and so we softly draw the curtains about him." The same writer says with reference to Thorn and Ford, "The expulsion of these preachers expelled not, but increased the differences in Oxford, which burned the more for blazing the less, many complained that the sword of justice did not cut indifferently on both sides, but that it was more penal for some to touch than for others to break the king's declaration."[3]

Dr. Bound had commenced the sabbatarian controversy in 1595, and in 1628 it was fiercely revived by Mr. Theophilus Bradborne, a minister and schoolmaster of Suffolk, who published a book "in which [4] he maintained the moral and perpetual obligation of the Jewish sabbath; and contended that it was no better than will-worship, to make the observance of the Lord's day binding by virtue of the fourth commandment." He dedicated his book to the king, whereupon he was prosecuted before the High Commission, and recanted his errors. Francis White, Bishop of Ely, drew up an answer to his work, whereupon as Fuller says, [5]"books begat books," and the controversy became

1 Cassell's History of England.
2 Chronicle, p. 568.
3 Church History, Book XI.
4 Le Bas' Life of Laud, p. 179.
5 Church History, Book XI.

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intricate and seemingly interminable. In 1618, King James had published a Book of Sports which might be lawfully used on the afternoons of Sundays.[1] In 1628, Chief Justice Richardson ordered the Somersetshire clergy to proclaim the illegality of Sunday village feasts and wakes. For this he was reproved by Laud, and the Book of Sports was ordered to be republished with a promise of protection to all those taking part in such sports. The clergy who either refused or neglected to read this declaration in their churches were to be deprived.

The chief blame of these proceedings fell upon Laud, and many clergy in the dioceses of Norwich and Bath and Wells were deprived for not reading the declaration. Several bishops refused to proceed against their clergy for non-compliance, and, says Fuller, "Many moderate men are of opinion that this abuse of the Lord's day was a principal procurer of God's anger, since poured out on this land in a long and bloody civil war." The king's order ran thus, "Our express will and pleasure is that these feasts with others shall be observed, and that our justices of the peace shall see them conducted orderly, and that neighbourhood and freedom with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And the justices of assize are to see that no man shall be molested in these lawful recreations, and the bishops are to give order for the publication of this command in all the churches."

Feeling on both sides ran high. Nehemiah Wallington[2] tells terrible stories of judgments on sabbath-breakers, ranging from the burning of towns to the ill-luck of fishermen, and Prideaux says in the preface to his work on the Sabbath, "Some preachers went so far as to maintain that to do any work or servile business on the Lord's day is as great a sin as to kill a man, or to commit adultery; that to throw a bowl, make a feast, or dress a wedding dinner on the Lord's day is as great a sin as for a man to take a

1 Perry's Church History, p. 418.
2 Historical Notices, vol. I., chapter VI.

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knife and to cut his child's throat. That to ring more bells than one on the Lord's day is as great a sin as to commit murder. And I know also a town of mine acquaintance, the preacher there brought the people to that pass, that neither baked nor roast meat was to be found in all the parish for a Sunday's dinner throughout the year." On the other hand the anti-sabbatarians maintained the lawfulness of church-ales, clerk-ales, bride-ales, and wakes (much different, I daresay, from the watching prescribed by our Saviour)." "Mixed dancing, masques, interludes, revels, &c., were by them permitted in the intervals betwixt, but generally after evening service ended."[1]

St. Paul's Cathedral was at this time very much dilapidated. Some of the chapels had been pulled down, others let out for workshops, and the body of the church was a common lounge for idlers and bad characters. On April 10th, 1631, a commission was granted to Bishop Laud and others for the restoration of the cathedral, and, says Whitelocke,[2] "About this time the repair of St. Paul's was set on work, chiefly by the zeal of Bishop Laud, and new images and ornaments other than formerly were set up, to the discontent of many persons. The king came himself to the church and made a kind of procession to view it, and granted a commission to some bishops and others to have a contribution to see the work done. Some affirm that £80,000 was gathered for it, and Sir Paul Pindar is remembered to have laid out £19,000 of his own money towards it." Other writers say that Laud collected and spent at least £100,000 on this restoration before the year 1640.

Some of the fines levied by the High Commission Court upon great men for profligacy were spent upon the restoration, whereupon the puritans exclaimed that St. Paul's was being built up with the sins of the people, even as St. Peter's in

1 Fuller's Church History, Book XI.
2 Memorials, I., 48.

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Rome had been by the proceeds of the sale of indulgences.

In August, 1633, Bishop Laud was translated to the See of Canterbury, and Bishop Juxon became Bishop of London. The latter prelate was a keen huntsman, and Whitelocke says of him that "He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself as of his hounds." "He was full of ingenuity and meekness, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all." Bishop Curle, an ardent disciple of Laud, was translated to Winchester in the year 1631. He cut through one of the southern buttresses of the cathedral in order to prevent the church from being used as a thoroughfare, and recorded the fact by a quaint inscription which still exists. Canon Benham[1] says "The holy table was placed in the altar situation, against the eastern screen, and was railed in, and the prebendaries were bound by oath to bow towards it at their going in and coming out of the choir. In addition to surplices, four copes were also provided which were ordered to be used on all Sundays and holidays. All churchwardens were bound on oath to present to him, or to his officers, clergymen who fell short of his requirements."

The Pope now offered Laud a Cardinal's hat, which he twice feebly refused, saying "That something dwelled within him which would not suffer that till Rome was otherwise than it was at that time." Strange as it may sound in our ears, Le Bas shews that the idea of a protestant cardinal was then common, and that Williams, Laud's antagonist, aspired to a similar honour. Laud himself said in 1637 whilst censuring Bastwick, "I assure myself that no prelate can be so base as to live a prelate in the Church of England, and labour to bring in the superstitions of Rome upon himself and it. And if any should be so foul, I do not only leave him to God's judgement, but to shame also and severe punishment from the state. And in any just way no

1 Diocesan History of Winchester, p. 192.

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man's hand shall be more or sooner against him than mine shall be." But nevertheless he did not countenance the bitter persecution of Roman Catholics which was then all too common. From "A Cavalier's Notebook" (p. 62-70), we learn that no Roman Catholic chapel was sanctioned in England except the queen's. Mass, attended with danger to the master of the house, and with still greater risk to the officiating priest, whose life was at the mercy of any informer, was said in some obscure part of the house. The priest sometimes resided in an upper room. Mr. Blundell often wished to be remembered to "the gentleman at the top of the house," and the necessary food was sent to him from the family table. In "The Brieffe Narration of the Rev. Gilbert Blackhall," we read "In great houses if the priests eat in their private chambers, they must stay till the lady send them from the table upon trenchers such pieces as she pleaseth. I have seen this done in England to priests eating in their chambers in the year 1638." Roman Catholic priests had no fixed home in England till after the Civil War. They seem in great houses to have held a much more independent position than Church of England domestic chaplains did, inasmuch as they were for the most part men of good family, equal in birth to their host, and, from their foreign training, his superior in learning. United as they were by a common faith and by fellowship in suffering, they often arranged marriages between influential families. Eight of Mr. Blundell's relatives took orders, and, speaking of the Civil War, he says "Many more Roman Catholics would have been killed if they had not entered a better militia." Government excluded them from office, and they became priests under feigned names, which were never mentioned in family pedigrees, or at the Herald's Visitations. "At the battle of Cheriton 195 gentlemen fell, 78 of whom were Roman Catholics. The parliament were willing to employ them, and the garrison of Basing House, when it was at length captured, was almost

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entirely composed of Roman Catholics. Priests were hanged without mercy by the Puritans during the Civil War."[1]

A barrister named William Prynne, published at the close of the year 1632, an enormous quarto of 1000 pages, which he called "Histrio-mastix, the Player's Scourge, or the Actor's Tragedy," compiled only out of the words and sentences of other approved authors of all sorts against the use and exercise of stage plays, interludes, Morris dances, May games, May-poles, wakes, lascivious mixed dances, and other Ethnic (heathenish) pastimes, condemned in all ages without any thought or suspicion of giving the least offence, either to the king's most excellent majesty, the queen, or state, as he averred in his answer upon oath.[2] This book spoke very strongly as to the character of actresses, and deprecated the employment of boys in female characters. As the queen had just before taken a part in "*The Shepherd's Pastoral*" at Somerset House, Prynne was supposed to have libelled her. He was indicted in the Star Chamber as a libeller, was condemned to be put from the bar, to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of £5000 to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. Despite the queen's intercession this brutal sentence was executed in May, 1634. Prynne, whilst in prison, wrote "News from Ipswich," in which he charged the prelates with being[3] "bishops of Lucifer, devouring wolves and execrable traitors." His fellow prisoner was Dr. Bastwick, who had been fined £1000 and debarred from the practice of medicine for publishing in Holland his "Flagellum Pontificis," in favour of Presbyterianism. Then came the "Apologeticus," and finally the "Litany of John Bastwick," which kept no quarter with the bishops. "From plague, pestilence, and famine, from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord deliver us." The church was as "full of ceremonies as

1 Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire.
2 Wallington, I., 65.
3 Cassell's History of England, vol. III., p. 161

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a dog is as full of fleas," and the ecclesiastical courts were assailed in unmeasured terms.[1]

Henry Burton, incumbent of St. Matthew's, London, had bitterly criticised Montagu's "Appello Cæsarem" and also Cosin's Devotions. On November 6th, 1636,[2] he preached two sermons which he afterwards published, under the title of "For God and for the king," attacking the tables turned into altars, the crucifixes set up, and the bowing towards the east. He styled the bishops "blind watchmen, dumb dogs, ravening wolves, anti-christian mushrooms, robbers of souls, limbs of the beast, and factors of Anti-Christ." On June 14th, 1637, Prynne, Burton and Bastwick were each of them condemned to stand two hours in the pillory, to be fined £5000, to have their ears cut off (the executioner had dealt mercifully with Prynne three years before), and Prynne, who was less popular than his fellow sufferers, to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S.L. (Seditious Libeller). They were then to be imprisoned for life in the castles of Caernarvon, Launceston, and Lancaster. They duly suffered this atrocious sentence in Old Palace Yard on June 30th, 1637. They were everywhere treated as confessors and martyrs, and were afterwards removed to Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly, in still stricter confinement than before. It was to no purpose that Laud attempted to gag the press. Libels poured forth in a ceaseless stream, and the nation was roused to red-hot heat by the success of the Romish priests in the train of the queen in making numerous and influential proselytes.[4] Charles was appealed to by Laud to issue a proclamation against catholics, but the all powerful influence of the queen prevented anything important from being done. A proclamation was indeed issued, but of a very mild character, and was everywhere treated with contempt.

1 Gardiner's History of England, vol. VIII., p. 227.
2 Gardiner's History of England, vol. III., p. 226.
3 Ibid and Cassell's History of England, vol. III., p. 161.
4 Gardiner, vol. III., pp. 235-42.

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Milton, in his immortal "*Lycidas*" predicted the speedy downfall of the existing system, and the horrible punishment inflicted on John Lilburne only made matters worse. "The king and Laud had now raised a spirit by their cutting off of ears, which would be satisfied ere long with nothing less than the cutting off of their whole heads."[1]

Carlyle says, [2]"But now, on small signal, the hour was come. All Edinburgh, all Scotland, and behind that all England and Ireland rose into unappeasable commotion at the flight of this stool of Jenny Geddes, and his Grace of Canterbury and King Charles himself and many others had lost their heads before there could be peace again." Mr. Gardiner is of opinion that [3] "It is possible that Laud might have succeeded in meting out equal law to the rich and poor if he had left the puritan clergy to worship according to their conscience. As it was, he irritated all classes in turn. More especially were the country gentlemen annoyed by the attitude of superiority assumed by the clergy. Hitherto the rector or the vicar of the parish had not ventured to hold up his head in the presence of the county families. It was well for him if they did not cheat him out of his rights, encroach upon his income, or deprive him of the means of keeping his church in repair. The clergyman of the parish now found himself exalted to a dignity to which he had been unaccustomed. He was the guardian of the morals of his parish, whose duty it was to enforce ecclesiastical rules, to see that they did not eat meat in Lent without a certificate, or did not send their carts across the churchyard. In any difference between the clergyman and the squire, the clergyman knew that he was certain of a favourable hearing with the archbishop, and that there would be a presumption at Whitehall that he was in the right, and his opponent was in the wrong. When the government needed

1 Gardiner, pp. 248-50.
2 Cromwell, Letters and Speeches, vol. I., p. 83.
3 History of England.

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information on which it could depend, it was increasingly in the habit of applying to the bishop or the rector, and of framing its action in conformity with the information thus obtained. The country gentlemen had long been made to feel that they were overshadowed by the officers of the crown. They were now made to feel that they were overshadowed by the incumbents of their own parishes."

In or about the year 1636 [1] the Chapter House of Winchester Cathedral, which was probably of classical or renaissance architecture, built after the destruction of the Norman Chapter House by Bishop Horne, well on in the sixteenth century, shared the fate of its predecessor. It seems to have been a building of two stories, the lower being a kind of arcade supported on marble columns, thr ugh which the worshippers passed on their way to the choir, and the upper being a closed-in chamber in which the cathedral Chapters were held. It is stated to have been "of good ancient work, and standing on marble pillars," standing right across the nave at some little distance from the entrance into the choir, completely blocking the view. It was swept away at the express desire of the king.

There were great religious irregularities existing in English factories and regiments in foreign countries, where the English ritual had almost entirely given place to that of Geneva. This Laud endeavoured to remedy in the year 1633, by an Order of Council. In the following year he turned his attention to the foreign congregations in England. These Frenchmen and Walloons had been guaranteed freedom of worship alike by Elizabeth and by James. Irregularities no doubt existed among them,[2] and were encouraged by factious puritans. Even Laud's great opponent, Williams, disapproved of their conduct. Laud says of them that they were [3] "a kind of God's Israel in Egypt till

1 Dean Kitchin, Hants Notes and Queries.
2 Le Bas, pp. 189-93.
3 Laud's Troubles and Trial, p. 165.

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they became a church within a church and a state within a state." Guizot [1] says that "most of them abandoned their adopted country; the diocese of Norwich alone lost 3000 of these hard-working foreigners." It was decided that foreign ministers should be allowed to use their own ritual, and that the English liturgy should be translated into French and Dutch so that the children of foreigners might learn to conform. The churches were to be self supporting, and to have only foreign pastors. In 1634, Sir Nicholas Brent, [2] Laud's Vicar-General, commenced a visitation of England south of the Trent, which lasted three years, and which brought to light some strange facts. At Norwich he writes, "The cathedral church is much out of order. The hangings of the choir are naught, the pavement not good, the spire of the steeple is quite down, the copes are fair but want mending. The mayor and his brethren walked indecently in the cathedral church before the sermon." At Lynn, "divers parsonage houses had been ruined, and much glebe land was embezzled." "Mr. Daines, Lecturer at Beccles, a man of more than seventy years of age, did never wear the surplice nor use the cross in baptisms." The Buckinghamshire gentlemen, John Hampden amongst them, selected the churchyards as the fittest places in which to muster the trained bands of the county. The curate of St. Catherine Cree used to compare his parishioners to "frogs, hogs, dogs, and devils." The rector of Tretire seldom read the litany except in Lent, and a lecturer at Gloucester preached that "every step taken in dancing was a step towards hell." At Northampton the congregation wore their hats during divine service, and at Stratford-on-Avon of all places the vicar kept his poultry and pigs in the chancel of the church. Brent was in Winchester from June 19th to 23rd, 1635. He complained that the cathedral was very much in decay, but was under repair. The choir was

1 Revolution in England, p. 52.
2 Gardiner, vol. VIII. and Hants Notes and Queries. vol. III.

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ill served, there were no copes and there was no bowing on entering the choir nor at the name of Jesus. The cathedral authorities promised amendment. "The cloisters are mean, but I think they were never better, nor can they be well mended. Their churchyard is ill fenced, hath many houses built and many miskins made upon it." The clergy of the diocese had subscribed £1700 towards the repairing of St. Paul's, to be paid in seven years. "In these parts popery doth more increase than puritanism and many children are christened by popish priests. One Polwhele, dwelling in Winchester, is a dangerous papist. He teacheth music, and his son, of the age of 17 or 18 years, teacheth grammar in his father's house, and many who come to school there are infected by them. Likewise, one Agnes Francis, in St. Michael's parish in Winchester, is a dangerous schoolmistress in that kind. I have inhibited all these." The Dean, Dr. Young, and the Chapter were ordered to provide four copes, and to send a copy of their statutes to the Archbishop. These statutes, now preserved in the cathedral library, were afterwards signed on each page both by the king and also by Laud. The churchyard was to be cleared, and due reverence was to be paid alike on entering and on leaving the choir. The dean and prebendaries were to stand during the reading of the creeds. Walking in the church, or wearing of hats during service time was forbidden. At St. Maurice church the holy table was to be railed round in a decent manner. St. Cross and St. Mary's College also received due attention. The Vicar-General reached Southampton on June 25th, and there refused the offer of a burgess's place because the mayor did not come to see him personally. In his report he says "I found no puritans in this place on whom anything could be fastened, yet there are many who do straggle to other parish churches from their own." Sir Nathaniel held a court in the "Dolphin Chamber" and examined Daniel Sauvage, the minister of a French church in the town, concerning his teaching and

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doctrine. Only fifteen fathers of families were in his congregation and of those nine were natives of England. The Vicar-General ordered that all Englishmen should attend their parish church, but said that the "foreigners could enjoy their present liberty during the archbishop's pleasure." They must have been pleased when he left Southampton for Chichester. The king also ordered the mayor and corporation of Winchester to attend the cathedral from time to time, and to be present when the service commenced. They were allowed to use their maces everywhere except in the choir, where they were forbidden to make use of them except by the special leave of the Dean and Chapter.

But the subject of the fiercest controversy was Laud's order that the communion table should be set and remain altarwise, being also fenced off from the rest of the church by rails. We can here only indicate some few of the sources from which materials for this voluminous controversy may be drawn. All the works of the period are full of it. Fuller [1] says, "And now many differences about divine worship began to rise, whereof many books were written *pro* and *con*. Such was the heat about this altar till both sides had almost sacrificed up their mutual charity thereon, and this controversy was prosecuted with much needless animosity." Whitelocke [2] says that this order "gave most distaste to many . . . . . which was opposed by divers," and the Bishop of Lincoln (Williams) wrote a book called "The Holy Table," shewing the practice of the primitive times, with arguments against this innovation. Mr. Wakeman says, [3] "In 1626 a dispute had occurred at Grantham in the diocese of Lincoln, in which Williams, with characteristic worldly wisdom, endeavoured to arrive at a compromise which might gain the approbation of the puritans, without incurring the displeasure of

1 Church History, Book XI.
2 Memorials, vol. I., p. 70.
3 Church and the Puritans, p. 130.

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the court. Construing the conflicting rubrics to mean that the altar was ordinarily to stand at the east end, but to be removed into the body of the church whenever the holy communion was celebrated, he justified his decision on the express ground that to permit the altar to remain at the east end during the celebration of the communion would be to acknowledge the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice." Heylin remarks [1] "Though the table in Lincoln Cathedral was at this time in the place enjoined by the archbishop, Williams, to please the puritans, gave order for placing the communion table in the middle of the church, with a rail about it, and not at the east end with a rail before it. Le Bas, quoting Heylin, shews [2] that Laud's action was not uncalled for. The communion table occupied its present position in most of the cathedrals, but in parish churches it usually stood in the body of the church. "It often served the churchwardens for a parish table, the schoolboys for a desk, and the carpenter for a working board. In one place we are told that a dog had run away with the bread set apart for the holy communion, and that in many instances the wine had been brought to the table in pint pots and bottles, and so was distributed to the people."[3] Heylin, who was Rector of Alresford, Hants, speaks of worse defilement by dogs, and says that boys used to fling their hats upon it.[4] It seems strange to find that for thus railing round the communion table Heylin incurred such displeasure as to risk his life, whilst his "reading the common prayers in the church every morning gave great satisfaction to the parish,[5] being a populous market town;" Nehemiah Wallington[6] tells us how, in 1640, the soldiers pulled down and burnt the rails in very many places, calling the table "a dresser board," and the clergyman "Baal's priest." "At

1 Church and the Puritans, pp. 286-7.
2 Ibid, p. 184.
3 Heylin, p. 285.
4 Life of Heylin, p. 111.
5 Ibid., p. 87.
6 Vol. I. pp. 122-6.

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Radwinke, on the fast day, the soldiers went into the church and pulled up the rails, and pulled down the images, which, as I hear, cost the parson to set up £30, they tied the images to a tree and whipped them, then they carried them five miles into Saffron Walden and burned them, and roasted the roast, and heated the oven with it, and said, 'If you be gods, deliver yourselves." They looked for the parson, Master Drake, but they could not find him; then the soldiers caught a duck and pulled off her head, and hurled it into the church, and being asked why they did so, they answered, 'they would serve the Drake so if they could catch him.' And in the afternoon the soldiers went to Woodford, and the minister gave them money, meat, and drink, and they told him they would not meddle with him, nor with man nor child, but they stayed and heard the sermon, and then they went and pulled up the rails and burnt them, and set the communion table where it used to stand."

On July 1st, 1637, a decree of the Star Chamber regulated printing and letter-founding. The importation of foreign books was forbidden, [1] and no book could be printed in England on either religion, physic, literature, or poetry, without an episcopal license. Laud himself, with [2] that boundless activity which was one of his prominent characteristics, often read religious books before licensing them, submitting them likewise to his chaplains or to some other bishop. Only twenty master printers were to be allowed in the kingdom, besides those of the king, and of the universities, no printer was to have more than two presses or two apprentices, except the Warden of the Stationers' Company. There were to be only four letter-founders, and any man not of the number of the privileged twenty who ventured to print a book was "to [3] be set in the pillory, and whipped through the

1 Cassell, History of England, vol. III., pp. 161-2. Annals of England, vol. II., pp. 395-7. Gardiner's History of England, VIII., p. 234.
2 Church and the Puritans, p. 131.
3 Rushworth, vol. II., p. 490, app. 306.

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city of London." The archbishop and the Bishop of London had power "to seize and destroy all seditious, schismatical, or offensive productions," whilst booksellers' shops and private houses were periodically searched. But despite the horrible punishments inflicted on John Lilburne and John Warton, who had printed Prynne's "News from Ipswich," and other books called libellous, puritanical works of a most violent character were still printed by stealth. "Under Laud [1] the clerical invectives of a 'Martin Marprelate' deepened into the national fury of 'Canterburie's Doom.'" But all this time the lull before storm brooded over all England. Not to mention other dioceses, Winchester was considered by Laud's vicar-general as "a well-ordered diocese," and in Laud's report to the king he states that "the clergy in the diocese of Winchester were regular and well managed, and paid a due submission to his majesty's instructions."[2]

Bishop Williams had kept great state at his house at Buckden "in as much pomp and plenty as any cardinal at Rome, for diet, music, and attendance." His old enemy, Laud, resolved to humble him, "upon [3] the private grudges and emulation between these two prelates." Williams, who had been previously in trouble for revealing privy council secrets, was, in 1637, charged with subornation of perjury and with encouraging puritanism. Laud and Secretary Windebank, "that [4] little bell being the loudest and shrillest in the whole peal," caused him to be fined £10,000, and to be sent to the Tower. He was suspended from his see, and three of his servants were heavily fined at the same time. His papers were examined, and a letter found from Mr. Lambert Osbaldeston, schoolmaster [5] and Prebendary of Westminster, saying, "The little vermin, the urchin, and the

1 Green's Stray Studies, p. 121.
2 Collier, Ecclesiastical History, vol. VIII., p. 103.
3 Whitelocke, vol. I., p. 76.
4 Fuller's Church History, Book XI.
5 Collier, Ecclesiastical History, VIII., p. 134.

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hocus-pocus, this stormy Christmas, is at true and real variance with the leviathan," and "There was great jealousy between the leviathan and the little meddling hocus-pocus." The "hocus-pocus" was said to be Laud, and "the leviathan" the Lord Treasurer Weston. Bishop Williams was again fined £10,000 and pressure was used to make him resign his see. Osbaldeston was fined £5000, sentenced to deprivation of his good living of Wethamstead, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory in Palace Yard in the presence of his numerous scholars. He fled, not without the connivance of the archbishop, according to Jeremy Collier, leaving a letter stating that he had "gone beyond Canterbury," whilst in reality he was hiding in London. Williams was released by the Long Parliament in 1640, and became Archbishop of York. On the question of ship-money a dispute arose between the Dean and Chapter of Winchester and the corporation, which, after royal intervention, was settled by a compromise.[1]

Into the troubles in Scotland and into church affairs in Ireland during this reign it comes not within our province to enter.

Laud and his suffragans seem still to have believed that all was well, and to have had no idea of the general discontent which Guizot[2] so graphically describes, and the archbishop must have been astounded when Edward Hyde told him "that the people were universally discontented, and that everyone spake extreme ill of his grace, as the cause of all that went amiss." Guizot says,[3] "In various ways the government rendered itself so odious, that thousands of men differing in rank, fortune, and objects, severed themselves from their native land. An order of the council forbade these emigrations, on May 1st, 1637. At that very time eight vessels ready to depart, were at anchor in the Thames. On board one of them were Pym, Haslerig, Hampden and Cromwell."

1 Dean Kitchin, Historic Winchester, p. 189.
2 Revolution, Book II.
3 Revolution, p. 61.

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This story has since been called in question. Neale gives it on the authority of "Dr. George Bates and Mr. Dugdale, two famous royalists," omitting the name of Pym. Mr. Gardiner, who inclines to the date of 1634, instead of 1637, says in his description of the debate upon the grand remonstrance, "As the members trooped out [1] Falkland asked Cromwell 'whether there had been a debate?' 'I will take your word for it another time' was the answer. 'If the remonstrance had been rejected I would have sold all that I had the next morning, and never have seen England any more; and I know there are many other honest men of the same resolution!'" Neale[2] gives many interesting details concerning these voluntary exiles, who crossed the Atlantic in the years 1606, 1614, and 1620, to found new settlements across the Atlantic, and to treat quakers and all others who conscientiously differed from them with the same harshness which they had themselves experienced in England. Dr. Collier [3] says, with reference to Laud's severities, "Hence it was that the Mayflower sailed over the Atlantic, bearing to a home in the trackless forests the Pilgrim Fathers, who preferred the dangers of the red man's knife to the more savage tortures of a persecuting priesthood. Hence it came that the third decade of this troubled century witnessed the foundation of nearly all the New England States on the American shore. Puritan blood was flowing to the west, weakening the motherland by the loss of its strong current. But a greater weakening from a fiercer blood-letting was not so far away!"

1 History of England, vol. X., p. 78.
2 Ibid, vol. II., p. 332.
3 History of England, p. 330.

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CHAPTER III.

AFTER an interval of eleven years King Charles, by the advice of Strafford and of Laud called together "the Short Parliament" on April 13th, 1640. Bishop Wren of Norwich, who, next to the primate, was the most unpopular prelate in England, on account of his "innovations," was chosen [1] to preach to a body of country gentlemen and puritans, who were united by a firm determination to reform the Church of England. They wished to commence their proceedings by a fast, and declined to allow convocation equal representation on the committee for religion. Pym, Waller, and others declaimed strongly against Romish practices, the harshness of bishops, the Book of Sports, the ecclesiastical courts, and such like things. Convocation opened with a sermon on Matthew x. 16—"Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves,"—from Dr. Turner, Laud's chaplain. At the next session Laud himself spoke gravely, "his eyes ofttime being but one remove from weeping."

On April 28th[2] both houses of parliament had a conference on "Innovations in matters of religion." They declined to sanction

1 Perry's Church History, pp. 431-33.
2 Ibid, p. 433.

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canons made without their consent, and complained of: 1—The licensing of popish books. 2—Removing the communion tables. 3—Setting up crosses, images and crucifixes in cathedrals, churches and chapels. 4—Refusing to administer the sacrament to any but those who will come up to the rails to receive it. 5—Making articles at visitations. 6—Molesting and depriving Godly ministers for not reading the Book of Sports. 7—Enjoining to bow to the altar. Parliament refused to grant supplies, unless religious grievances were discussed. The king, in anger, dissolved on May 5th, this parliament "wherein many things were started, nothing hunted down, or brought to perfection." Convocation was ordered to sit "during pleasure," and to make canons. "Thus was an old convocation converted into a new synod," says Fuller.[1] Seventeen canons were drawn up with reference to matters then in dispute. Their tone was conciliatory, but their effect was marred by the inconsiderate haste which drew up the famous oath—"Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established." This was known as the "et cetera oath," and was the signal for a furious outburst. Wallington [2] says of it "O cursed oath." He likewise denounces the seventeen canons in unmeasured terms.[3] Mr. Gardiner says, "It is true that even in this unlucky production, all was not amiss." The king now raised an army to attack the Scotch, "but it was a most hopeless army.[4] The soldiers called the affair 'The Bishops' War.' They mutinied against their officers, shot some of their officers; in various towns on their march if the clergyman were reputed puritan, they went and gave him three cheers, if of surplice tendency they sometimes threw his furniture out of the window. No fighting against poor Scotch gospellers

1 Church History, Book XI.
2 Historical Notices, vol. I., p. 35.
3 Ibid, vol. I., pp. 23-40.
4 Carlyle, Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, vol. I., p. 91.

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was to be hoped for from these men." "The Scottish War, [1] the Bellum Episcopale, as men called it, was soon going against the king. Laud had been the chief mover in the war, and it was against Laud that the popular indignation at once directed itself. On the 9th of May he notes in his diary 'A paper, posted upon the Royal Exchange, animating 'prentices to sack my house on the Monday following.' On that Monday night the mob came surging up to the gates. 'At midnight my house was beset with 500 of these rebel routers,' notes the indomitable little prelate. He had received notice in time to secure the house, and after two hours of useless shouting the mob rolled away. Laud had his revenge; a drummer who had joined in the attack was racked mercilessly, and then hanged and quartered. But retaliation like this was useless. The gathering of the Long Parliament sounded the knell of the sturdy little minister who had ridden England so hard. The half-witted drummer was the last man tortured in England."

Convocation was protected by an armed guard, "yet were not those seats very easy, they were in danger of the king's displeasure if they rose, and of the people's fury if they sat; to be beaten up by tumults whilst they sat at the work, and to be beaten down by the next parliament for doing the work." October 22nd, 1640, saw the inroad of a mob of about 2000 Brownists into the High Commission Court at St. Paul's. The benches in the consistory were torn up amid cries of "No Bishops," "No Commission," and the court never sat again. The Long Parliament met in an angry mood on November 2nd, 1640. Macaulay says,[2] "In November, 1640, met that renowned parliament which, in spite of many errors and disasters, is justly entitled to the reverence and gratitude of all who, in any part of the world, enjoy the blessings of constitutional government."

1 Green, Stray Studies, p. 123.
2 History of England, vol. I.

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Whitelocke [1] speaks of numerous petitions craving redress of grievances, "both from particular persons, and some from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties." For a full account of these petitions see Wallington's Historical Notices.[2] Williams, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Leighton, Lilburne, Chambers, and others were now released, claiming redress of their wrongs, and full of wrath against Laud. Prynne and Burton landed at Southampton, the former from Jersey and the latter from Guernsey. [3] "They were all well received by an enthusiastic crowd, their expenses were paid, and liberal presents made them. The like fortune attended their journey to the capital, numbers meeting them in every town. At Charing Cross they were greeted by a crowd of 10,000 persons, flowers were strewn in their way to the city. John Bastwick, who had been banished to Scilly, returned through Dover a few days after, meeting with the like reception in his progress through Kent, and in London." The Earl of Strafford was sent to the Tower on November 25th, and loud and long were the denunciations uttered against the deprivation of ministers for not reading the Book of Sports, the Court of High Commission, and other church courts, "the bottomless perjury of an et cetera," and various acts of ceremonial.[4] 15,000 Londoners petitioned to have bishops and ceremonies radically reformed, as did 700 ministers of the Church of England. Bills were brought in to abolish superstition and idolatry, and to take away the bishops' votes in parliament. "The whole world is getting on fire with episcopal, anti-episcopal emotion."[5]

Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were ordered to be compensated by Laud and the ecclesiastical commissioners. Dr. Cosin, Dean

1 Memorials, I., 109.
2 Vol. I., pp. 1-33.
3 Davies, History of Southampton.
4 Perry, Church History, p. 440. Whitelocke, Memorials, vol. I., p. 111.
5 Letters and Speeches, vol. I., p. 93.

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of Peterborough, who had before been in trouble about a book of private devotions, was, to no purpose, impeached. Despite the king's reluctance, Laud is examined before the council on December 4th, 1640. Twelve days after, the canons lately made by convocation, are declared unlawful, as being [1] "against the king's prerogative, and the fundamental laws of the realm," and on December 18th, Mr. Hollis and the Scots complain of Archbishop Laud as "the great incendiary." He was taken into custody and fined £500, as amends to Sir Robert Howard who had been imprisoned by his order in 1637. "He was committed to the charge of Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, and remained ten weeks at his house; Mrs. Maxwell, charmed with him, and 'talking of him to her gossips.' From Maxwell's he was removed to the Tower, amidst a 'railing rabble, who accompanied him to the very gates. The Danaidæ had their buckets, and Sisyphus his large stone, and Laud his mob.' Bishops Wren and Pierce were likewise impeached, and bound over in heavy bail. Thus closed the year 1640."[2]

On January 23rd, 1641, a bill was passed ordering that "Commissions should be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels." The crosses at Charing, St. Paul's and Cheapside, were in consequence thrown down by Sir Robert Harlow. Hugh Peters said in a sermon that "Charing Cross had made more papists, and done more harm in that way, than any pulpit in London had done good." He himself was in 1660 executed at Charing Cross. Crosses had previously been destroyed without legal warrant by Puritan ministers at Tewkesbury and elsewhere.[3] There is a

1 Mozley's Essays on Laud, p. 212.
2 Authorities, passim.
3 Cavalier's Note Book, p. 103.

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most graphic description of the destruction of St. Paul's Cross in Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle. Commissioners were sent into every county to destroy superstitious objects. The journal is extant of Mr. William Dowsing, one of these commissioners, who was employed in the eastern counties under the Earl of Manchester. He was paid six shillings and eightpence per church, and records the destruction at one place of "pictures of the sun and moon, and of the arms of Edward the Confessor." He says that at "Cochie there were divers pictures in the windows which we could not reach, neither would they help us to raise the ladder." Stained glass, brasses, emblems, statues, were alike defaced by Master Dowsing, and many traces of his work are still visible. On February 26th, 1641, twenty-four Articles of Impeachment were exhibited against Laud, who was accused of subverting the laws, true religion, and the rights of parliament.[1] On March 1st he was committed to the Tower, and soon afterwards the Lords threw out a bill for removing the bishops from parliament, and clergymen from the commission of the peace. A committee for religion, consisting of ten bishops, ten earls, and ten barons, was appointed on March 15th, and made great concessions to the Puritan party, which may be seen at length in Fuller [2] and in Proctor.[3] Fuller says, "This consultation continued till the middle of May, and the weaving thereof was fairly forward on the loom, when 'Atropos occat,' the bringing in of the bill against deans and chapters, root and branch, cut off all the threads, putting such a difference between the foresaid divines, that never their judgments, and scarce their persons met after together."[4] During the year 1641, John Milton published two books on "Reformation in England," a tract on "Prelatical Episcopacy," in answer to one by Archbishop Usher, a treatise entitled "Reason

1 Annals of England, vol. II., p. 407.
2 Church History, Book XI.
3 Book of Common Prayer, pp. 97-101.
4 Book XI.

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of Church Government against Prelacy," and "Animadversions" on a "Defence" by Bishop Hall.

Strafford was beheaded on May 10th, receiving Laud's blessing on his way to the scaffold, and on the 27th the "Root and Branch Bill" for the extirpation of Episcopacy, drawn by St. John and Haslerig, but entrusted to the charge of Dering, was read a second time in the Commons by a majority of twenty-seven, in spite of the opposition of Falkland. On June 15th, a resolution dealing with deans, chapters, and all cathedral officers in the same way, and applying their emoluments "to the advancement of learning and piety," passed the house, and was embodied in a bill. The Root and Branch Bill died a natural death in the lower house.[1]

The king consented to abolish episcopacy in Scotland, but at the same time created eight new bishops in England. The High Commission Court was now for ever abolished, and a compensation of £61,125 12*s* 2*d* was voted to several of its victims. Petitions poured in from many parts of the country, advocating useful reforms, but professing attachment to the Church of England. After a long debate, by a majority of nine, which Sir Benjamin Rudyerd compared to the "verdict of a starved jury," the House of Commons passed the Grand Remonstrance, accusing the bishops of triumphing in the excommunication and degradation of pious and learned ministers, and in the vexatious and grievous oppression of great numbers of his majesty's good subjects." Harassed by mob violence, the bishops withdrew from the house on December 27th, 1641, after drawing up a protest, declaring all the proceedings of parliament during their enforced absence to be illegal. For this, greatly to their astonishment, they were censured, sent to the Tower, and deprived of their seats in parliament. Ten of them were released after some months' imprisonment, but Bishop Wren was still detained in the Tower. For the charges against

1 Authorities, passim.

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him, Archbishop Laud, and the bishops generally, see Nehemiah Wallington's Historical Notices.[1]

An Act was passed in January, 1642, to hinder ecclesiastics from serving as privy councillors, members of parliament, or as justices of the peace. The majority of the clergy favoured the king, and when parliament, on June 2nd, 1642, sent nineteen final propositions for peace to his Majesty. They professed to wish, not the destruction, but rather the reformation of the church. During the years 1640-3, thousands of clergymen were ejected from their benefices by the parliament on the ground that they were "scandalous ministers." A perusal of Wallington's Historical Notices,[2] Vicar's Jehovah Jireh, Parliamentary Chronicle, or other contemporary authors will easily prove how very unfounded many of the charges brought against them were. Many other incumbents were ejected by the "Committee for Plundered Ministers," which appointed puritans who had been ejected or plundered by the cavaliers, to take the places of the loyalist clergy.[3]

It would be impossible, without being tedious, to recount the events of the years 1642-9 in detail, for as Baker[4] says, "We shall no further enlarge upon these things, which will make matter for an entire history itself to describe." At the close of this sketch will be found a list of the authorities consulted for this troubled period.

Bishop Curle and the Rev. W. Lewis, Master of St. Cross, were "stanch loyalists and churchmen." In October, 1642, the Earl of Pembroke, the Governor of Hampshire and the associated counties, together with the Earl of Essex, received authority "to raise and conduct forces for the suppression of rebellion and

1 Vol. I. pp. 138-74.
2 Vol. I., p. 175-210.
3 Perry, chapt. XXX., and other Authors.
4 Chronicle, p. 570.

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preventing insurrection, and was ordered to pay his soldiers by seizing the revenues and rents of archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, and other notorious delinquents." On February 22nd, 1643, an order of parliament was passed authorising the "young scholars" at Westminster, Eton, and Winchester not to wear surplices if they objected to so doing. These colleges were, however, permitted to retain their revenues.[1] On December 3rd, 1642, Sir William Waller captured Farnham Castle,[2] the palace of the bishops of Winchester, which was indeed held for the king, but, according to Clarendon, "deserved not the name of a garrison." Warburton [3] speaks of the indifferent defence made by Sir John Denham, and Vicars [4] after his fashion waxes jubilant. The castle was partially demolished in the same month that it was captured, and rendered indefensible in the year 1648. Bishop Morley [5] expended £7000 upon its repairs at the restoration. War is no respecter of persons, and Mercurius Rusticus says, "About December, 1642, the Colonels Waller, Brown, and others marched from Aylesbury into Windsor, and thence by Newbury to Winchester, their soldiers in the march plundering every minister within six miles of the road, without distinction, whether of their own party or of the other, whether they subscribed for episcopacy, presbytery, or independency, whether they wore a surplice or refused it, only if they did not they afforded them the less booty." Lambeth Palace became a prison for cavaliers, under the charge of Dr. Leighton.

"It [6] can only have been as a personal triumph over their humbled persecutor that the parliament appointed the first custodian of Lambeth, and gave Prynne the charge of searching

1 Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire, p. 8.
2 Godwin, p. 23.
3 Lives of the Cavaliers.
4 Parliamentary Chronicle.
5 Godwin, p. 53.
6 Green, Stray Studies, p. 125.

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the archbishop's house and chambers for materials in support of the impeachment. Of the spirit in which Prynne executed his task, the famous 'Canterburie's Doom,' with the breviary of Laud's life which preceded it, still gives pungent evidence."

Tuesday, December 12, 1642, saw Winchester in the hands of Sir William Waller. The story of the pillage and destruction wrought in the cathedral is found at full length in my "Civil War in Hampshire," wherein I have quoted the most graphic though probably highly coloured account of Dr. Bruno Ryves in "Mercurius Rusticus," together with other authorities of the period. Mr. John Chase, Chapter Clerk at Winchester, mentions this date as the one on which "the muniment house was for the tyme by the soldiers defaced and spoiled, and divers writings taken away."[1] At a later period the muniments were again ransacked, and many of them were utilised for flying kites, whilst others found a watery grave in the swiftly flowing Itchen. "Many of the books were carried off and presented by Nicholas Love to the College library, where they still repose; and some of the most valuable of the cathedral manuscripts can be traced to the Bodleian library at Oxford, where they have fortunately found a safe home. The most interesting of the treasures lost at this time is the Benedictionary of St. Ethelwold, now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire."[2] Whilst the workmen were engaged in levelling the altar steps in the cathedral they came upon a golden cup containing the heart of Bishop Ethelmar, who died in the year 1261. The heart was re-buried, but the cup was confiscated by the parliamentarian committee. It was not until many years after the Restoration that altar steps and rails were replaced in several Hampshire churches, as the Chilcombe Registers [3] give proof. Water for troop horses stabled in the

1 MS. Record.
2 Dean Kitchin, Winchester, p. 192.
3 Hants Notes and Queries.

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cathedral is said to have been obtained from the ancient well in the crypt.

The puritan soldiers adopted scriptural names.

Cleveland alludes to this by a stroke of humour—"With what face can they object to the king bringing in of foreigners, when they themselves maintain such an army of Hebrews? One of them beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament; we may learn the genealogy of our Saviour from the names in his regiment. The musterman uses no other list but the first chapter of Matthew."

The following names are given by John Squire as belonging to men "who joined us at the siege of Lynn, and came riding in full armed, and went into our second regiment; and who left us, many of them, after Marston fight, on fancies of conscience, and turned Quackers (Quakers)"—"Hiram, Judah, Caleb, Danyel, Zachary, Saul, Aaron, Japhet, Jacques, Isaiah, Simon, Aminadab, Hezekiah, Christian, Zatthu, Ahimeleck, Sheckaniah, Jobias, Jeheil, Selah, Manna, Eleazer, Ishmael, Vilellius, Zered, Israel, Amphilius, Gabriel, Promise, Gilead, Zack, Kesiah, Mathias, Pious, Malec, Je'sophat, Issachar, Shem, &c."

There are several publications intended for military service penned by ministers—"The Soldier's Catechism, by Robert Ram, minister, published by authority," another, "A Spiritual Knapsack for the Parliament's Soldiers." The most extraordinary specimen of the temper of the times is one entitled "Military and Spiritual Motions for Foot Companies, as they now ought to be taught, and not otherwise, by Capt. Lazarus Howard, 1645."

"It was a project of drilling and exercising a company of infantry at the same time by a double motion of soul and body. This full and whole exercise of a foot company spiritual and temporal may make us, like the Israelites, go up as one man, with one heart and in one form, a soldier of that Great Captain, Christ Jesus!"

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"His scheme is to give the word of command to produce the military movement, and to every letter in that word he affixes some pithy and pious sentence to produce the accompanying spiritual one." He forms acrostics of "To The Right About!"—"As You Were!" as thus—

"The Devil is let loose for a season, to try the patience of God's church.

Our enemies, O Lord, are near to hurt us, but Thou art near to help us.

The sword never prevailed, but Sin set an edge upon it.

Hasten from the company of the wicked.

Every man shall sit under his own vine, nor hear any news or noises to affright us.

Religion made a stalking-horse for politics is odious.

It is a grievous judgment upon a nation when teachers sent for man's salvation shall become means of their confusion, &c."

On Saturday, March 4th, 1643, Sir William Waller marched with his army from Winchester to Romsey, where the soldiers at once began to deface the abbey church, pulling up the seats and destroying the organ, "which was no sooner done but a zealous brother of the ministry, dwelling not far off, got into the pulpit, and for the space of two hours, in a furious zeal, applauded that religious act, encouraging them to go on as they had begun." The chronicler makes a pun in his lamentation that this stately church, having escaped destruction at the time of the *dissolution* of the monasteries, had been reduced to ruin in these *dissolute* times.[1]

During the summer of 1643, the parliament was in great fear of the ultimate success of the king and therefore resolved to make common cause with the Scotch covenanters, who demanded the abolition of episcopacy. On June 12th, an ordinance was passed "for the calling of an assembly of 120 learned and Godly divines

1 Godwin, p. 56.

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and 30 others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settlement of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations."[1] Scotch Commissioners were also to sit with them. From their meeting in Henry VII.'s Chapel on July 1st, 1643, this synod was known as the "Westminster Assembly." A few churchmen were members of it, but seldom attended its sitting. "On October 16th,[2] Dr. Harris, Warden of Winchester College, represented to Parliament that being bound by oath to reside at Winchester, he could no longer attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster." Most of the assembly were Presbyterians, and five of its members were Independents, who had returned from exile in Holland. Commencing with a fast, the Assembly spent ten week sin revising the first fifteen Articles. The learning of some of the members was not great. Whitelocke[3] says, "Both houses passed an Ordinance, on August 28th, for demolishing and removing all monuments of idolatry and superstition out of all churches and chapels in England and Wales." Various members of Parliament sat and voted in the Assembly, "in which debates Mr. Selden spoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them 'perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves (which they often pulled out and read), the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus,' and so would totally silence them." The Scotch Commissioners were not popular even with their allies in Parliament. Mr. Sancroft thus writes to his father on May 11th, 1646—"All men's eyes are upon the Scots, to see what course they will take, for that is the hinge upon which all turns. If they stand firm with the Parliament, as it is not

1 Godwin, p. 54.
2 Ibid, p. 69.
3 Memorials, vol. I., p. 29.

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doubted that they will, we shall have peace and presbytery. . . If anything make the Scotch and Parliament break, it will be the business of the commissioners. The London ministers preach broadly against them. Mr. Calamy tells the story of seven sons of Sceva, a Jew, and applies it thus, 'Pastors we know, and Elders we know, but Commissioners, who are ye?' Mr. Jenkins, of Christ Church (he that told the parliament when he preached before them that they had brought us out of Babylon and left us in Babel), tells the passage of the Emperor Henry VII., that was poisoned in the sacramental bread. 'So' saith he 'these men poison Christ's own disciples, the presbytery, that is good and holy, but, Commissioners, here is the poison, take hold of it.' A brother saith publicly he hopes rather to see the street run with blood, than the Commissioners continue."[1] Sir Thomas Knyvett says [2] "I shall join with the cunninger traitors of the two, and therefore let Presbyterian and Independent fight till I part them. The next effect sure must be a marriage between a Presbyterian Incubus and an Independent Succubus, to beget a new generation of devils, for the next Parliament, or rather for the continuation of this, so well grounded in diabolical principles." To please the Scotch Commissioners the House of Commons and the Assembly took the Solemn League and Covenant on September 25th, and all persons above the age of eighteen were obliged to take it on February 3rd, 1644. Fuller says [3] "Churchmen cannot take this oath without perjury and injury to themselves." The Covenant consisted of six Articles which bound those who subscribed them "to endeavour the preservation of the Reformed Church in Scotland, and the reformation of religion in England and Ireland," "in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best

1 Carey, Civil War, vol. I., p. 29.
2 Ibid, pp. 376-7.
3 Book XI.

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Reformed Churches:" to extirpate "popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and to the power of godliness:" to preserve the liberties of Parliament, and the king's person and authority, to discover and punish "all incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments;" to preserve "a blessed peace between these kingdoms:" and to assist and defend all who enter into the Covenant, all which we shall do as in the sight of God."[1] The members of the Assembly received four shillings per diem, and Milton [2] censures them strongly for their appropriation of vacant preferment. saying that they "are setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms." Enforced subscription to the Covenant had caused "some thousands of churches to *vake* for want of men," and numerous sectaries had intruded themselves into benefices. The Westminster Assembly put forth on September 22nd, 1643, a temporary scheme of ordination by means of committees of ministers sitting in London and elsewhere. The same Ordinance was first continued for three years, and was then made perpetual. On January 3rd, 1645, the Directory for Public Worship was enacted for use in England. For accounts of this Directory see Proctor, Short, Perry and other authorities. On August 24th (St. Bartholomew's Day), 1645, the public or private use of the Prayer Book was made liable to a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and to three years' imprisonment for the third. The non-observance of the Directory subjected a minister to a fine of £2, whilst for doing or saying anything against it a fine of from £5 to £50 could be inflicted. On November 13th, 1645, the king ordered the clergy to continue the use of the Prayer Book, and threatened with punishment those who used the Directory. Hard times indeed for the clergy. The Westminster Assembly drew up its Longer

1 Annals of England, vol. II., p. 432.
2 Prose Works.

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and Shorter Catechisms, and the heads of a Confession of Faith, which latter was presented to parliament in December, 1646, after which "this assembly dwindled away by degrees, though never legally dissolved."[1]

Archbishop Laud had been committed to the Tower on March 1st, 1641, and had lain three years in prison. In November, 1643, he was, to please the Scotch, brought to the bar of the House of Lords, on a charge of high treason. On [2] the 31st of May previous, he had been visited by his old enemy, Prynne, who took charge of the case against him. Prynne searched his trouser pockets, took his Prayer Book from him, saying, "I hope sir, you have not lived to these years, but to be able to pray now without a book," and, receiving from the archbishop a handsome pair of gloves, departed. The primate's trial "brought [3] the whole of a long public life, and an administration in church and state, under review; from the proceedings in High Commission and Star Chamber, down to the most casual words which dropped from him." It was but a foregone conclusion, and on January 10th, 1645, the executioner did his work on Tower Hill. "Laud's funeral was solemnised according to the prescribed formulary, so that it seemed as if the establishment for which he died had been buried with him."[4] His library, palace, and estate were granted by parliament to that notorious pulpiteer, Hugh Peters.

Macaulay well expresses the feeling of parties at this time when he makes the Cavalier sing—

"Drink to those names—those glorious names,
Those names no time shall sever,
Drink in a draught as deep as Thames,
Our Church and King for ever!"

1 Fuller, Book XI.
2 Vicars, Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 344.
3 Morley's Essays, p. 216.
4 Le Bas, p. 237.

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whilst the Puritan sternly replies—

"Down, down, for ever down, with the mitre and the crown,
With the Belial of the Court, and the mammon of the Pope,
There is woe in Oxford halls, there is woe in Durham stalls,
The Jesuit smites his bosom, the Bishop rends his cope!"

But when hard blows were to be given and taken, mutual esteem was the natural outcome—

"Then 'Spur and Sword' was the battle word, and we made their helmets ring,
Shouting like madmen all the while—'For God and for the King!'
And though they snuffled psalms, to give the rebel dogs their due,
When the roaring shot poured hot and fast, they were steadfast men and true!"[1]

Macaulay[2] says of John Hampden, "He was buried in the parish church of Hampden. His soldiers, bareheaded, with reversed arms, and muffled drums and colours, escorted his body to the grave, singing, as they marched, that lofty and melancholy psalm in which the fragility of life is contrasted with the immutability of Him to Whom a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is passed, and as a watch in the night."

After Cheriton Fight,[3] which practically decided the fate of the king's cause in the southern counties, and which was fought on March 28th, 1644, the Rev. Obadiah Sedgwick, D.D., Pastor of Coggeshall, in Essex, preached the thanksgiving sermon before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in the morning, choosing as the motto of his discourse 1 Samuel, vii. 12: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us;" and selected as his text Psalm iii., 1: "Salvation belongeth unto the Lord. Thy blessing is upon Thy people. Selah!"

1 The Old Cavalier.
1 Essays: Hampden, p. 219.
3 Godwin, Civil War, p. 136.

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"Master Thomas Case, Preacher at Milk Street, London, and one of the Assembly of Divines," occupied the same pulpit in the afternoon. The motto chosen by him was Psalm ix., 10: "And they that know Thy name will put their trust in Thee; for Thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek Thee!" and his text was Daniel xi., 32: "And such as do wickedly against the Covenant shall be corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits."

On the same day the preachers received the thanks of the House of Commons at the hands of Sir W. Brereton and Sir W. Massam, for their sermons, which were ordered to be printed. They are preserved amongst the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum.

It was almost impossible for an Episcopalian to retain a benefice in these troublous times. He could be convicted as a "scandalous minister," by observing the appointed ceremonial; for "malignancy" if he showed any favour to the Cavaliers, and in any case for not taking the Covenant. In 1643, country committees were allowed to grant one fifth of the revenue of a benefice to an ejected minister, but this was not made obligatory until 1647. One clergyman was blamed for singing a most malignant psalm, another for reading a most malignant chapter, one for walking in his garden on Sunday, another because his dog caught a hare on Sunday, Prynne himself [1] intercedes for a clergyman who had been six months in prison, with his house and chancel in ruins, ready to do whatever parliament wishes, and well thought of by three parishes. At the least six or seven thousand clergymen were ejected. Many fled, others were imprisoned in gaols and hulks. "The [2] persecution by the party now dominant were by no means confined to the church clergy. Franklin and Collier, anabaptists, were imprisoned, and a

1 Carey's Memorials, vol. I., p. 369.
2 Benham, Diocesan History of Winchester, p. 210.

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'prophetess' of the same sect was flogged. Portsmouth was made a sort of convict settlement for clergy who refused submission to the parliament. They were put on board ship and there hooted and even pelted as they were at prayers, being called Baal's priests:" "there being of us in that one small Ipswich coalship, so low built too, that we could not stand upright in it, within one or two of sixty, whereof six were knights, and eight doctors in divinity, and divers gentlemen of very good worth, that would have been sorry to have seen their servants, nay their dogs, no better accommodated."[1] It was proposed to sell the prisoners to the Americans and Algerines. Plundered, and dragged from their pulpits by force, the clergy had indeed much to bear. Dr. Holdsworth writes to Sancroft, "It is all one if we cannot serve the king as chaplains, we will as beadsmen, and, if not in his prison, yet in our own. We there did eat his bread of pleasure, here of affliction. There, eat his meat, here, wear his livery: a prison is his livery as well as Christ's." A fierce fight took place in Alton church and churchyard. The prisoners taken at Alton were confined in Farnham church, and many of them took the covenant in its chancel. Basing and Basingstoke churches suffered very heavily, as indeed did many others in Hampshire.

Many of the Hampshire clergy suffered severely at this time. Waller says in his "Sufferings of the Clergy" (p. 96), that no less than 100 had their livings sequestered in Hampshire during the single year 1646.

The most prominent sufferers in this district were: Bishop Curle, who, after the surrender of Winchester to Cromwell, retired to his sister's home, the old Manor House at Soberton, where he died in 1647. He was not allowed to compound for his own private estate, because he refused to take the Covenant.

Archdeacon Burby, D.D., was sequestered from the living of

1 Walker, p. 370.

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Wonston, and died between the years 1645-1660.

The Rev. Thomas Gawen, Rector of Exton and Bishopstoke, was chaplain to Bishop Curle and tutor to his children. On the outbreak of the war he went abroad. He regained his preferments at the restoration with the additional living of Fawley, but becoming a Roman Catholic he resigned them all, and died at Westminster in 1684. He wrote several devotional and controversial tracts.

The Rev. Edward Stanley, Rector of Hinton Ampner and of Mottisfont, was dispossessed. He preached the first sermon in Winchester Cathedral after the return of the Dean and Chapter, on August 19th, 1660, and died in 1662.

The well-known Rev. William Lewis, D.D. (see Duthy's "Sketches of Hampshire"), was ejected from the Mastership of St. Cross, which was successively bestowed upon John Lisle, M.P. for Winchester until 1657, and Cook, the Solicitor-General, who was executed at the Restoration. Dr. Lewis returned to St. Cross in 1660, and died there in 1667.

The Rev. Francis Alexander, Rector of Houghton and Crawley, "was also plundered in these times." One Samuel Tomlyns was presented to Crawley by the Tryers in 1655. The Rev. John Harris, D.D., Warden of Winchester College. "He suffered nothing in that capacity, having by his great prudence preserved at once his own, and the Fellows' rights there, together with his own loyalty and a good conscience." He died at Winchester in 1658. Other sufferers were the Revs. Edward Meetkirk, D.D., John Oliver, D.D., Sebastian Smith, D.D., John Crook, LL.B., Fellow of Winchester College and Master St. Mary Magdalen Hospital, Winchester; Hugh Haswell, A.M., Rector of Cheriton, William Taylor, who held the Chauntership, St. Mary Kalendre, and the Rectory of St. Lawrence. "He was also plundered."

The suffering junior Canons were Robert Copping, Richard Ayleward, William Clun, and Edward Cotton. Most of the

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cathedral clergy were plundered, and many of them imprisoned. The Rev. Edward Cotton of St. Thomas' was especially plundered. Of Dr. Peter Heylin, Rector of Alresford and South Warnborough, mention has been already made. Winstanley says in his Worthies of England (pp. 610-612), "Several times was the Doctor alarmed by drums and trumpets sounding about him, so that finding no other way of safety, for safeguard of his life he was forced to fly to the king at Oxford, the parliament resolving if they could have took him he should have followed his good lord of Canterbury to another world than that described in his cosmography: but since they could not light on his person they secured his estate, sending down an order for sequestration of all his goods and chattels, and that the sooner by the means of one Colonel Norton, who, (it is said) kept the best of the Doctor's plate, beds, and other costly furniture to himself, as a recompense of his great care in plundering him of the rest, although indeed he might have spared the Doctor his plate and beds, and only have took the *hangings* for his due. His books were carried away to Portsmouth, many of them being sold by the way, good folios for a flagon of ale apiece, and the carriage of them paid by books, Robin Hood's penniworths; yet notwithstanding the books were so embezzled and wasted by them, they were appraised at near £1000, and put into a public library from whence they could never be regained." . . . . "But, weary of this perambulatory life, and some supplies of money coming in, he settled himself, his wife, and eldest daughter at Winchester, then a strong garrison of the king's, where for a while he had some halcyon days, but they endured not long, for this place, thought invincible, was cowardly yielded up in three days' time, so that the Doctor was now in more danger than ever, had not Mr. Lizard, in whose house he boarded, secured him in a private room, so cunningly contrived that there was no door to be seen nor entrance into it, supposed to be formerly made for the hiding

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of seminary priests and Jesuits, the house heretofore belonging to a papist family. Here did he abide in safety while the soldiers hunted about for him. But, desirous of liberty, while the soldiers were busy in gaming and rioting, he took his opportunity on the market-day to put on his travelling robes, with a long staff in his hand, and so walked out of the town, confidently with the country crowd, leaving his wife and daughter to the care of his faithful friend Mr. Lizard. And, now thinking himself out of danger, he was just upon the brink of it, for having left Winchester not many miles behind him, he met with some straggling soldiers, who, catching hold of his hand, felt a ring under his glove, which through haste of his escape he forgot to pull off. Now a gold ring agreeing so ill with his habit, made them conclude him some runaway Cavalier, and therefore resolved first to plunder, and then secure him; but whilst they were ransacking him, some of the Parliament Scouts came galloping by, who said to their fellow soldiers, 'Look to yourselves, the Cavaliers are coming,' which affrighting words made them leave him, having took away his ring, and that little money he had in his pocket, but through their haste missed of some gold pieces which he had in his high shoes. And thus did the Doctor run through many dangers for his loyalty, never secure from their rage and malice, which was so inveterate, that, could they have catcht him, nought had satisfied but his blood, as he was informed from a friend in the House of Commons. At the Restoration he regained his preferments and became Sub-Dean of Westminster. He entertained some friends at supper after the coronation of King Charles II., and, some of them being frightened by a thunder-storm, he said, 'See how the ordnance of Heaven answer those of the Tower, rejoicing at this royal solemnity.' He afterwards lost his sight through over study, and died on Holy Thursday, 1663, in his 63rd year. He was buried in Westminster Abbey."

The Rev. John Oliver, Prebend of Winchester, and President

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of Magdalen College, Oxford, had his house at Oxford plundered. He was driven to great hardships, wanted himself what he had before bestowed on others, and became in a manner an object of charity. He was the first loyal head of a college at Oxford replaced at the Restoration, became Dean of Winchester, and died on October 27th, 1661, and was at that time strangely desirous to leave the world, though few alive had such temptations to stay in it. He left a portion of his small property to Winchester Cathedral.

The Rev. Alexander, B.D., Rector of Worthy, was ejected, about the year 1644, and lived on the charity of his friends until the Restoration, when he regained his living. The Revs. Bayly, of Colebigham, Blondworth, of Westmeon, and Beasly, of Longstock, lost their livings, the last-named clergyman being also imprisoned. The Rev. Paul Clapham, Rector of Martyr Worthy, and the Rev. Dr. Cox, of Warnford were ejected. The former clergyman called the Parliament rebels and traitors, and fled to the royal army. His enemies accused him of gross immorality. The Rev. Dowse, Rector of Broughton, the Rev. Eastgate, of Iwisbury, the Rev. Good, of Marshing, the Rev. D. Green, Rector of Avington, were all ejected. The Rev. Anthony Gosling, Rector of Morestead, shared their fate, and also had his private property confiscated for treason against the Parliament, by an Act, dated November 18th, 1652. "The Rev. John Hagar, A.M., Rector of Chilcombe, lay under sequestration 13 years, and during that time was reduced to such extremity that as he hath walked the streets of London, if he hath seen a cast piece of bread in the streets, he hath dropt his glove upon it, took it up, and eaten it with greediness." He regained his living and died in 1671. He was a man of good life and great learning, but had been succeeded on the sequestration by one Gaspar Binner, who was in every way inferior to him. The Rev. Lawrence Hinton, D.D., Rector of Chilbolton, and the Rev.

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Hyde, D.D., of Abbot's Ann, both of them suffered ejection and also imprisonment. The former died at Chilbolton in 1650. The Rev. Holloway, of St. Clement's, Winchester, was plundered as well as ejected. His church fared no better, for in 1660 we read, "the little church of St. Clement having been much dilapidated while the soldiers occupied it as a guard house, was used as a place to lay faggots in, yea, to keep hogs in, and wherein to receive horses, oxen, &c., at times of fairs." "The Rev. Lacy (or Lucy), of St. John's and St. Peter-in-Soca, Winchester, and the Rev. Lake, of Linkenholt and Sopley, lost their preferments, and the Rev. Lowman, Vicar of Bishop's Sutton, was ejected, to be succeeded in 1657 by Richard Upsolm. The Rev. Maddocks, of Itchenstoke, the Rev. Martin, of St. Michael's, the Rev. Morgan, of Barton Stacey, and the Rev. Mason, Rector of Alton, were ejected, the latter clergyman being also plundered. The Rector of Wherwell, who appears to have been the Rev. Matthew Nicholas, LL.D., Dean of Bristol, was dispossessed, and the same fate with the addition of imprisonment befell the Rev. Pinke, Rector of Stoke Charity. The Rev. M. Roolfe lost the living of Bramdean, and was also plundered. He seems to have been identical with the ejected Rector of Alverstoke, near Gosport. The Rev. Shingley, Vicar of Eastmeon, was both deprived and also imprisoned, and the Rev. William Taylor, Rector of St. Mary Kalendre, and of St. Lawrence, Winchester, the Rev. Trussel, of Weeke, the Rev. Tutt, Rector of Winnal, together with the Rev. Myrth Waferer, A.M., Rector of Upham, were all ejected. The latter clergyman was summoned before parliament in 1640 for using scandalous words, which were these, "That General Lesley did not stick to say that the southern lords were the cause of his coming on." After the Restoration he became Prebend of Winchester, was created a D.D. at Oxford, and died in the year 1680.

Some few years since in a shop at Bishop's Waltham an old

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book was rescued from destruction, which upon examination proved to be one of the registers of the neighbouring parish of Upham. It contains the following entry, for which, together with very much valuable information, I am indebted to F. Baigent, Esq., of Winchester—"Item, for cleansing ye church against Christmas (1642), after ye troopers had abused it for a stable for their horses, 2*s* 6*d*." This entry proves that local traditions of some of our Hampshire churches having been used as stables are not without foundation. The old register above mentioned contains frequent entries of relief given to sick and wounded soldiers, and in the year 1647 certain soldiers were relieved "on their march home." A year or two afterwards the writer of the entry referring to the troopers, altered the words "had used it for a stable" into "had abused it for a stable." A slight alteration, but clearly indicative of the political creed of this rural keeper of the records.

The church linen was not taken from Upham, as it was from many other churches. We read, "1649. Paid to three lame souldiers from a hospital 1*s*." In the same year there were other payments to "maimed soldiers" of 7*s* and 3*s* 6*d*, and also this entry—"Paid to three men and their wyfs and children with a pass from ye parliament, one of them a parson, 2*s* 6*d*."

The Rev. John Pottinger, D.D., "was Master of Winchester School, and forced to quit it for conscience sake." This however is doubtful. He died in 1659.

The clergy who refused to take the solemn League and Covenant and to adopt the Directory were severely treated as delinquents. Walker, in his Sufferings of the Clergy, says, "In and about Southampton was one Rout, who, on the Restoration, appeared to be a Papist; one Say, a weaver, before whom, in contempt, they once hung up a shuttle; and one Byles, a saddler, who had an old saddle set before him instead of a cushion, officiated at Hound Church, near Southampton. And it

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is well known that at Over Wallop, in that county, the sequestered living of the very learned and pious Dr. Young, the suffering Dean of Winchester, one of the successors was a tinker. I have been otherwise informed that he was not the successor, but thrust in as an assistant or lecturer, I suppose to preach in the afternoon, when he would frequently preach down what that most learned and excellent Doctor had preached up in the morning. And sometimes when the Doctor came out of the pulpit would begin a dispute with him in the church, but possibly, after the Doctor's sequestration, he was made his successor" (p. 98).

The Rev. Lewis Alcock, Rector of North Stoneham, was a great sufferer. He valiantly defended his rectory until his death, which took place on June 15th, 1647. He was a good and generous man. The Rev. — Barlowns, of Woolston, was imprisoned and sequestered, and the same fate of sequestration probably overtook the Rev. Samuel Baxter, of Dibden. The Rev. — Beasley, of Longstock, was sequestered and imprisoned, and sequestration was the lot of the Rev. — Bound, of Milton, near Lymington. The Rev. J. Cuffe was ejected from the Vicarage of Fordingbridge and the Chapelry of Ibsley, and replaced by one Richard Crossing. In the journals of the House of Commons is the following entry—"August 12th, 1842. Whereas information was this day given to the House that Mr. Clarke, Vicar of Andover, doth obstinately refuse to obey the order of this House in admitting of Mr. Symonds to preach there as Lecturer, and gives out that his wife and children will be all put to death before they condescend to the said order." Mr. Clarke was cited for contempt, and on August 24th witnesses were called in, who testified that the said vicar gave a command to lock the church doors; that he said "rather than Mr. Symonds should preach there by order of Parliament he would lose his life, and his wife and children should die in prison; that the church

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was as much his own as his own house, and he would hold his right, let the Parliament do what they would." Mr. Clarke, being called in, denied the truth of this information, whereupon he was ordered to withdraw. Being recalled, the Speaker told him that the House was not satisfied with his answer, the information having been proved by several witnesses. He was therefore committed to the King's Bench during the pleasure of the House, Mr. Symonds being duly installed at Andover. "Thursday, September 1st, 1642, ordered, that Mr. Robert Clarke, upon his humble petition, expressing his sorrow that he had offended the House, be forthwith discharged from any further imprisonment." The Rector of Dean suffered sequestration, as did also the Rev. — Dibden. The latter was also imprisoned, and his wife and five children afterwards petitioned for relief from the corporation for ministers' widows. The Rev. Henry Edmundson, Rector of Holy Rood, Southampton, was not only sequestered but was also sent for in custody by the House of Commons as a delinquent. The Rev. — Imber, Vicar of Christchurch, was sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned. The Rev. James Lambe, Rector of Titchfield, and the Rev. Dr. Lambe, of Botley, (are these one and the same name?) lost his living. The parishioners of Minstead, near Lyndhurst, petitioned the House of Commons on February 15th, 1643, that Mr. Lake, a double beneficed minister, might be ordered to re-admit Mr. King as curate, to pay him arrears of stipend, and to allow him a competent maintenance for the future. This information was referred to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, who were instructed to provide for the services at Minstead church. This they did by depriving Mr. Lake of his living. The Rev. — Manningham, Rector of Michelmersh, and the Rev. — Martin, of St. Michael's, Southampton, were both deprived of their benefices (Mr. Davies, however, considers that some other St. Michael's is here meant). A similar fate, coupled with

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imprisonment, befel the Rev. — Nose, of Seckford (Leckford?). The Revs. Lamburne and Squire, the Rectors of Upper Clatford and of Dibden, were deprived, as was also Dr. Colward Stanley, Rector of Moston (Mottisfont?). To this latter living one John Crofts was admitted in 1654. Rev. — Tull, of Fanly (Fawley?), was deprived, and Dr. John Pottinger lost his Mastership of Winchester School. These suffering clergy lived in this neighbourhood, but there were many others in the county.

Under the rule of the Parliament, as we learn from Dr. Milner, in Hampshire parishes the Directory was substituted for the Prayer Book in churches, chapels, and private families. Deans, chapters, and archdeacons were summarily abolished, together with bishops, archbishops and even their dioceses. Certain presbyteries and classes were appointed in lieu of parishes. The Puritans styled themselves "abhorers." They appointed a general fast on Christmas Day, and another to be held every month as an expiation for the crying sin of religious toleration. The use of the Book of Common Prayer either in public or in private entailed for the first offence a fine of £5, for the second a fine of £10, and for the third three years' imprisonment was the penalty. Quakers were whipped, whilst Roman catholics were hanged and quartered. Between July, 1641, and June, 1654, no fewer than twenty-one priests were executed, besides others who also received sentence of death. Many of the city and cathedral clergy refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and to adopt the Directory, and were in consequence treated with severity as delinquents. Much church land was sold for the benefit of the State between 1646 and 1651.

On Wednesday, October 1st, 1645, we read, "This day by letters from Winchester we understood that at General Cromwell's first coming against Winchester, having notice that Doctor Kirl, Bishop of that diocese, was in the city, sent to him, and proffered that in respect to his cloth (if he pleased), he should have liberty

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to come out of the town, and he would protect him from violence; which the bishop not accepting of, our men soon after forced their passage into the city, and the bishop fled into the castle with the souldiers. The next day, when our battery was placed, the bishop was so far awakened in his judgment by the thundering of the cannon that he sent a message to Lieut.-General Cromwell to this effect, 'That the Bishop was sorry that he had not accepted of Lieut.-General Cromwell's former proffer, and being better advised, did now desire the benefit thereof, &c.' Unto which, answer was returned that he had refused the former proffer, and gone with the soldiers into the Castle, he was not capable of that favour, and in case he were taken in the Castle he was to be esteemed a prisoner of war, and just now (the batteries being raised), be liable to such conditions as the rest of those that were in the Castle should be brought unto!"

The "Parliament's Post" thus moralises on Tuesday, December 7th—"The Bishop, who had before a guard to secure his person (with certain conditions), is now like to partake amongst them in the common distress. There is but little happiness to be expected from late repentance!"

Hugh Peters, Cromwell's chaplain, reports that amongst the prisoners taken at Winchester were "also Dr. Curle, the Bishop of Winchester . . . . and his chaplain, who were in their long gowns and cassocks." The Bishop and his clergy were referred to the mercy of Parliament. Dr. Milner tells us that Bishop Curle retired unmolested, though he lost his whole income. He lived on the charity of friends, more especially that of his sister, at whose house at Soberton he died in 1650. "A reverend prelate, who resided amidst his flock, even in these days of danger and trouble, and quitted not his charge, until he was suffered no longer to live in it."

Whilst the episcopal clergy were thus loyal to the king, some of the Puritan preachers were exceedingly bitter against him.

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Hugh Peters in particular called the king "a dead dog" and "Barabbas," and did very much to bring about his execution, saying before the Houses of Parliament at St. Margaret's, Westminster, "Do not prefer the great Barabbas, Murderer, Tyrant, and Traitor, before these poor hearts, (pointing to the red coats) and the army, who are our saviours." Hugh Peters was very constantly employed to carry news of military operations, and was known as the "ecclesiastical newsmonger" (Trials of the Regicides—Godwin's Civil War in Hampshire). Dr. Thomas Fuller and Baxter were both army chaplains during the civil war. The pay of a chaplain serving the Parliament varied according to rank from three shillings to eight shillings per diem (Civil War in Hampshire, pp. 137-8).

The result of all these changes was not satisfactory. The Puritan Edwards says ("Gangrena") "Things every day (1642-6) grow worse and worse, you can hardly imagine them so bad as they are. No kind of blaspheming, heresy, disorder, and confusion, but 'tis found among us, or coming in upon us," and much more to the same effect. "Master Presbyter," says Judge Jenkins, "was left to do as his fickle brains would serve him." "The worship of God" says Jeremy Taylor, "was left to chance, indeliberation, and a petulant fancy." "The Directory proved not to the satisfaction" says Neale "of any one party of Christians." No funeral service was permitted, no Christmas or holiday observance was lawful, and the liturgy was only heard by stealth, or from memory (Perry, p. 458).

When Cromwell ruled, the Independents rose to power, and Presbyterianism declined. Anabaptists and Jews were tolerated, but not Churchmen and Quakers (first so named in 1650 by Justice Bennet, of Derby), Roman Catholics, or Unitarians. Sancroft writes (Carey's Memorials, vol. II., p. 41), "And yet, sir, I would have you know it, we have preaching still amongst us." He describes the beardless elder under whom the wainscot

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groans, and the carpenter "as if he had hewn out Moses' tables with his own chip axe," who regretted that he was not required to keep more than ten commandments. Another preacher, however, forgot the sixth commandment, and nearly killed his wife with a hatchet.

Five or six hundred members of the University of Cambridge were ejected by the Parliament, but Oxford, after its surrender in 1640, was treated with still greater severity.

The king might have saved himself by sacrificing the Church of England, but he would not do so, though he consented to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, and to the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords. Further than this he would not go, even although Archbishop Usher, the Bishops of Rochester, Oxford, and others agreed that under the present pressure, he might grant complete toleration (Carey's Memorials).

The church which he loved stood by him to the last. Stern Puritan Wallington says (vol. II., p. 279) "January 30th, 1649, about two o'clock, was King Charles beheaded, on a scaffold at Whitehall. Whatever may be unjust with men, God is righteous and just in whatever he doth. 'They took Adonibezek and cut off the thumbs of his hands and of his feet. And Adonibezek said, seventy kings having the thumbs of their feet and of their hands cut off, gathered bread under my table; as I have done, God hath rewarded me. So they brought him to Jerusalem, and there he died.'".

On the other hand, South, when as monitor he read the Latin prayers in Westminster School on that fateful 30th of January, 1649, publicly prayed for his murdered sovereign, whilst John Evelyn, on hearing the terrible news kept the day as a fast. "His Majesty then bade him (Mr. Herbert) withdraw, for he was about an hour in private with the bishop (Juxon), and, being called in, the bishop went to prayer, and reading also the twenty-seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which relateth

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the Passion of our Blessed Saviour; the king, after the service was done asked the bishop if he had made choice of that chapter, being so applicable to his present condition. The bishop replied 'May it please your Gracious Majesty, it is the proper lesson for the day, as appears by the kalendar!' The king then put off his hat, and said, 'I bless God that it has so fallen out!'"

"True son of our dear mother, early taught,
With her to worship, and for her to die;
Nursed in her aisles to more than kingly thought,
Oft in her solemn hours we deem thee nigh.
For thou didst love to trace her daily lore,
And, where we look for comfort or for calm,
Over the self-same lines to bend, and pour
Thy heart with hers, in some thanksgiving psalm.
And well did she thy loyal love repay,
When all forsook, her angels still were nigh,
Chained and bereft, and on thy funeral way,
Straight to the Cross she turned thy dying eye."
(Christian Year).

As we look backward over all the tumult and unrest of the reign of the hapless Charles, we may indeed be thankful, that as Mr. Handel Cosham sweetly sings—

"Long years of peace have stilled the battle-thunder
Wild grasses quiver where the fight was won,
Masses of blossom, lightly blown asunder,
Drop down white petals on the silent gun;
For life is kind, and sweet things grow unbidden,
Turning the scenes of strife to bloomy bowers;
One only knows what secrets may be hidden
Beneath His cloud of flowers.

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Poor heart, above thy field of sorrow sighing
For smitten faith, and hope untimely slain,
Leave thou the soil whereon thy dead are lying
To the soft sunlight and the cleansing rain;
Love works in silence, hiding all the traces
Of bitter conflict on the trampled sod,
And time shall show thee all earth's battle-places
Veiled by the hand of God."

G. N. GODWIN.

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